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Learning Rectory.

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THE
LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

EDITED BY OSMUND AIRY.

VOLUME II.—1667-1678.



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PREFACE.

THE letters which were included in the first volume of the Lauderdale Papers illustrated, to such an extent indeed in some parts as almost to remake, the History of the Government of Scotland from the Restoration to the summer of 1667. In May of that year Robert Moray^a was on his way from England, entrusted by Lauderdale with the mission of breaking up the cabal which had been formed, on the basis of mutual support in extortion and oppression, between the Church and the military party, and the continuance of which constituted a serious danger to his own influence. In the present volume is contained a selection of letters, far too meagre to do justice to the value of the correspondence, in which are detailed the tact and firmness with which Moray successfully accomplished his mission, and the course of Lauderdale's government of Scotland, sometimes in person and sometimes through his lieutenants Moray, Tweeddale, and Kincardine, down to the period when, after having for some time been the sole and practically irresponsible ruler of Scotland, he suddenly found himself faced by an opposition, no longer fighting him by trickery and intrigue, but open and constitutional, aroused by the excesses of misgovernment in which, at the instigation of a vulgar and

^a Of the personal character of this most attractive and remarkable man, I have endeavoured, from his correspondence with Kincardine before the Restoration, to form some estimate in the *Scottish Review* for January, 1885.

avaricious woman, he had indulged his own debauched and brutal nature.

Before, however, considering the contents of this volume in their strict chronological order, I wish to call particular notice to the letter of James Sharp, contained in Appendix C. Its interest and value consist in the fact that it finally settles the vexed question of whether and to what extent Sharp was an active co-operator in the re-establishment of episcopacy in 1661. Those who have read his correspondence with Drummond in vol. i., the last letter being dated April 15, 1661, will remember the indignation with which he repels all insinuations against his loyalty to the kirk, and his ostentatious ignorance of the counsels of Middleton, the High Commissioner. So wily in his language, now simulating the tones of outraged innocence, now expressing a charitable pity for those who would calumniate him, and again vowing that the reputation of a "cracked credit and a prostituted conscience" shall never be his, that, in the absence of any direct damnatory evidence, those who wished to make out a case for him were within their right in assuming him guiltless of any greater crime than that of being accessory after the fact. This was the tone of a temperate and able article in number 92 of the *North British Review* of 1848, which deals, though too much in the tone of special pleading, with those letters. And in the *Scottish Review* for July 1884,—where by collating a large number of notices of Sharp from the letters of Lauderdale, Moray, Bellenden, Tweeddale, Kincardine, and others, I have shown that by all who dealt with him in State affairs he was regarded as a man completely destitute of honest principle,—I admitted that on the charge of deliberate and active treachery he must for the present go free, from want of evidence. I little thought at the time of the publication of that article that within a few weeks I should be in a position to close the case. Being

in Edinburgh in September I was referred by Mr. David Douglas (to whose generous assistance I owe much) to a letter of Sharp in vol. ii. of the *Archæologia Scotica*, p. 103 (Edinburgh, 1823), addressed to Middleton on May 21, 1661. It was there published without note or comment, but with a statement that the original was preserved in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries. By the courtesy of the curator I was enabled to see this precious piece of evidence, which, with a few trifling exceptions, had been faithfully reproduced in the *Archæologia*. The importance of the letter will be visible at a glance, but a few remarks upon it may be useful.

(1.) We find Sharp on May 21, 1661, having come to London a fortnight earlier, mentioning frequent conversations upon Church affairs held with Middleton before he left Scotland. But on March 21, writing to Drummond (vol. i. p. 89), he says, "I declare to you I have not acted directly or indirectly for a change amongst us, nor have I touched upon Church government in sermons or conferences at our court or elsewhere." It is, of course, open to those who would believe in Sharp's integrity to assume that all the conversations mentioned in the letter took place between March 21 and the beginning of May.

(2.) On April 15 (vol. i. p. 93) he is indignant at the "clandestin whispers," and with patience and hope commits himself, his credit, and his conscience, into the hands of his faithful Creator, who will bring his integrity to light. And yet within three weeks he is in active consultation with Clarendon, and rejoices that any former suspicions of his being well affected to Presbyterianism are now triumphantly removed.

(3.) Sharp reminds Middleton that the perfecting of the work (the context shows that he means the establishment of Episcopacy) ought to be "upon your hand, from whom it had its beginning." And yet as late as March 19 (vol. i. p. 85) he is in almost daily confidential converse with Douglas, an unbending Presbyterian, to

whom, he says, "there is nothing of publique matters I can learne which I doe not impart"; attends Middleton in Douglas's companionship to insist that the Presbyterian system shall continue on trial in its integrity for two or three years; and declares that "for all my court at the Abbey I am not made privy to their motions." In this same letter of March 19 he says also, "Pardon me to differ from you in my resolution not to meddle any more in these thorny and bespattering entanglements. I must think *de mutando solo* and breathing in an aire where I may be without the reach of the noyse and presoures of the confusion coming, which I had rather hear of than be witness to." The whole of the two letters of March 19 and 21 should be read as a full and sufficient commentary upon this to Middleton. Apart from these evidences of untruthfulness this letter proves the following important facts:—That in the early part of May, 1661, Sharp was in confidential communication with Clarendon and the English Bishops; that the subject of discussion was the immediate restoration of Episcopacy; that in this he earnestly and eagerly co-operated; that he had, prior to leaving Scotland as the trusted agent of the Kirk, held frequent conferences on the subject with Middleton, and that he was aware that Middleton had all along intended it; that he drew up, and was directly responsible for, the quibbling proclamation of June 10 (Wodrow, vol. i. p. 152), the sole purpose of which was "the disposing of minds to acquiesce in the King's pleasure"; and that he considers that "the superstructure for which Middleton has laid the foundation will render his name precious to the succeeding generations." Thus, then, out of his own mouth, Sharp stands finally and unquestionably condemned.

Appendix B likewise contains two or three matters of importance. Letter I. is of interest as being the first which we have from Sharp to Lauderdale since the Restoration, though earlier letters of his will be found in vol. i. pp. 3, 24, 26, 285, 291, and

292. This one (Sept. 12, 1660) is in the familiar strain, rejoicing in the defeat of the doctrines of "the 48 and 49," and in the downfall of the hated Remonstrator party, praising the King's letter and Lauderdale's constancy to sober and reasonable Presbyterianism, and concluding with the usual expressions of slavish devotion to his service. It will be observed that it has the same marginal reference marks as those which occur in the correspondence with Drummond in vol. i. The importance of Letter II. is sufficiently indicated by the head note. Letter III. is another striking illustration of the cold savagery of Dalrymple: "if I be not totale desevert without Extirpation the moist pairts of this countray vil second this rebellion with a girtter," may be well compared with his language three weeks earlier (vol. i. p. 255), "the forsis ar to marth to the vaist the morou for satlen that cuntray vith I am confedent is not posible to do vithout the inhabetens be remouet or destroiet."

Appendix A. will, I think, be regarded as a most valuable addition to the Lauderdale Papers properly so called. It contains, with the omission of only a few that have nothing of historical interest, the letters written by Alexander Burnet and James Sharp to Archbishop Sheldon from October, 1663, to the resignation of Burnet in 1669. The character of Burnet has been thrown into the shade by the more aggressive personality of Sharp. Perhaps this is most forcibly shown by the fact that when making some inquiries regarding him at the two places where he was successively Archbishop,—Glasgow and St. Andrews,—I was on each occasion asked whether I did not mean Gilbert. Keith, in his work on the Scottish Bishops, says that he was buried close to the tomb of Bishop Kennedy in the church of St. Salvator's College, but no trace of a grave is visible. No portrait of him is, so far as I can ascertain, extant. If there were such a portrait it would be recognizable, no doubt, by the long nose which gave him in the letters

from Bellenden, Moray, and Tweeddale, the names "Longifacies," "Long Nez," "Long Face." In these letters to Sheldon, as in all his actions, he displays himself as an enthusiastic member and admirer of the Anglican Church. As such his was the worst possible appointment that could have been made to the western see. His efforts, honest, consistent, and unrelaxing, to dragoon his clergy and people to obedience to Episcopal authority, appear to have been as potent a factor in the discontent of the time as the knavish spite of Sharp or the avarice and brutality of Rothes, Hamilton, and their hangers on among the needy nobility. It is necessary to emphasize this fact because the statement has often been made (see, for example, Gordon's *Scotchchronicon*, a work of extreme interest and utility) to represent Burnet as desiring leniency in the treatment of the malcontents. It is true that in one Letter, p. lxi., he makes this claim on his own behalf; but this cannot be put in comparison with the numerous passages (*e. g.* pp. xxix., xxxiv., xlii., xlv.), in which he recommends or approves severity. The tone of the letter throughout is entirely consistent with all that is known of his practice, and we shall presently see that it was to a bold and uncompromising attempt to frustrate the plan of Lauderdale for the more complete subjection of the Scotch Church to the Crown that he owed his temporary disgrace in 1669.

For a full estimate of the character of James Sharp, as it appeared to the men who had most to do with him, I may be permitted once more to refer to my paper in the *Scottish Review* for July, 1884. I have closed that article with the following words:—"We have shown that he was reckoned a poltroon and a liar; but a poltroon of serviceable ability, and a liar whose lies could be counted upon; that, unstable as he was in all else, he might always be depended upon to betray his associates and the cause

which he was supposed to represent; that cajolery, however coarse and careless, would instantly draw from him the most fawning recognition, and timely menace the most abject surrender; that, after being the most trusted minister of that kirk which had waged a century's war against crown and nobility, he had acquired through various stages this supreme merit in the eyes of king and nobility alike, that, when dirty work had to be done, he did it really well." His letters to Sheldon throw much additional light upon his character and methods. One incident in particular is worthy of careful notice. In 1667, it will be remembered (vol. i. pp. 274-276) Sharp had been made to feel that his safest game was to accept Lauderdale's mastery. On Sept. 23 in that year, Burnet reported to Sheldon (p. xlix.) that at a meeting of the Bishops, which he had after great pressure induced Sharp to summon, he had urged that a letter should be written to Sheldon in the name of all present, expressing their sense of the danger to which they were exposed by the conciliation policy of Lauderdale and his friends, and their earnest hope that this policy might be stopped. He goes on to say that to frustrate his objects Sharp moved that a letter should also be written to Lauderdale himself; that it was thereupon arranged that Sharp should draft this letter, while that to Sheldon was left to him; but that when Sharp told him that he must not speak with his accustomed freedom, and that former letters of his had been displeasing to Lauderdale, he declined to have anything to do with the matter.

There is no reason to doubt Burnet's account; he, at least, never swerves from his high Anglican views. Sharp, however, gives on Nov. 2 (p. liii.) a very different account. After describing to Sheldon, as if it were the result of an independent and unbiassed view of affairs, that he is beginning to think that the violence of former years has been a mistaken policy, he praises the fidelity and

loyalty to the Church shown by Lauderdale and Moray; mentions lightly that at the Bishops' meeting it was judged fitting to write a letter to Lauderdale expressing this, and only at the very end of the letter, and as it were incidentally, refers to the fact that it had been moved to write also to Sheldon himself, as though *this* had been the second thought, nor does he hint at the causes of that motion. The Bishops' letter to Lauderdale, as drafted by Sharp, will be found on p. 59 of this volume. It says nothing whatever about the alarm which Burnet declares prompted his motion, and is concerned entirely with the expression of their belief in Lauderdale's virtues, and in his zeal for the welfare of their order. Either Burnet or Sharp was lying: there can be no question that it was Sharp. The trick was a clever one, and its smartness was appreciated by Robert Moray, who writes as follows on Sept. 20 (p. 70):—"Though S. S. and I laughed till we was weary at the letter of the Bishops that was sent you, yet you may pick out of it some passages that may sway you to comply with the advice I give. But in sum you will soon observe, as we have done, what a silly company of people they are, *and how useful one of them is in manning of the rest.*"

I will now consider, from the point at which the last volume concluded, the letters which I have published from the British Museum collection. The state of affairs in the summer of 1667 was one which Lauderdale could not, for the sake of his own influence and credit at Court, allow to remain unchanged. Not only had the administration glaringly failed to govern Scotland, but Rothés, in league with Hamilton, Dalrymple, the Archbishops, and all elements of disorder, appeared likely to establish an authority founded upon military force, independent of and antagonistic to his own. He took his measures immediately. To bully and cajole Sharp into a proper frame of mind was an easy task. The first step in this will be found at the end

of vol. i. On July 6th (vol. ii. p. 17) Tweeddale reports that the time has now come when Sharp may be useful. On the 23rd (p. 22) he sends Lauderdale an amusing account of a perfect debauch of recantation on the Archbishop's part. Four days later (p. 28) we find him appealing in the most abject terms to the masterful Secretary, who evidently on receipt of his letter wrote to Moray and Tweeddale for their opinion. On August 8 (p. 31) Moray answered them—"I agree with S. S. (Tweeddale) in desiring you to deal gently with the 'auteur des belles lettres.' Certainly you are not to learn to know him. You told me formerly you had said upon one occasion you knew how to make use of a knave as well as another. . . . Therefor I would fain have you to pass over any foolish or false thing was in his letter in such a way as hee may not by your nipping of him suspect our ingenuity when wee use him with a fair and civil freedom." And again, on August 16 (p. 34)—"The short is, I think it not amiss you keep so cold with him that he may not swell again. But it is certainly fit we have a frankness with him that may make him useful, as indeed he is." Tweeddale writes to the same effect (p. 32). Following this advice Lauderdale, on Sept. 2 (p. 40), wrote a letter which hit the just mean between rebuke and conciliation, and which redoubled Sharp's zeal in his new path. So much so, indeed, that he was one day unpleasantly startled by Dalrymple's salutation: "Whensoever the Bishops ar stond, you deserve to be the first" (p. 55). The story of the Bishops' meeting I have already detailed. On Oct. 8 Tweeddale advises Lauderdale to let Sharp have a letter of thanks all to himself, and on the 22nd Argyle wrote thus:—"And now, my Lord, assist him handsomely from under the cloud that every way he may be more useful. I believe he has gotten the second sight through experience and not for nought" (Bannatyne Club Publications).

On Nov. 7 (p. 84) Moray puts it thus :—" Let me now tell you that there is one thing to be done to our Primate that would set him up and fix him for ever. . . . The thing I mean is that the King would write two lines to him with his own hand. . . . This would raise his heart, which I see is bemisted and lodged in his hose, as thinking himself under a cloud." A month later (p. 86) he completes his humiliation by betraying his late associates. Charles, at Lauderdale's request, wrote the two lines with his own hand, and Sharp's letter on the occasion (p. 93) is a model of his style. " His Majesty's hand, with the diamond seal, was," he says, " to me as a resurrection from the dead." As an earnest of his repentance he was employed to gain over the Duke of Hamilton, whose great power made him formidable, and we find him in June, 1668 (p. 106) priding himself upon his success.

Meantime Rothes, too, had been dealt with in a different way, but with equal skill. " The news pleas me well," said Tweeddale on May 28, 1667 (vol. i. p. 283), " that the keyes shall hang at the right belt." Lauderdale had determined that all real power must be taken from him. At present he was Commissioner, and thus in control of the military forces ; and he was Lord Treasurer, and thus in control of the purse. Lauderdale had determined that, if there were a Commissioner at all, it should be himself; and he was equally resolved to get the Treasury into his own hands. Rothes, however, stood well with Charles personally, and the appearance of disgrace was to be avoided (p. 71). Accordingly, in spite of his protests, which are amusingly detailed by Moray, who had the management of the matter, on pp. 3-6, he is induced, or rather compelled, " with a sad hert," to take the Chancellorship, which had been lying vacant since the death of Glencairn in 1664, and which was an office in which he would be practically harmless. Meanwhile, Moray and Tweeddale constantly urge Lauderdale to have the Commissionership vacated at once, at any rate

before Rothes goes to Court (see, especially, pp. 47, 66). If he is allowed to come up before that is done, Moray fears that the King will not be able to resist his "kindness and blandishments." Rothes' "soft and insinuating address" is particularly mentioned by Gilbert Burnet. Moreover, it appears from Moray's reports that all the promoters of oppression and disorder rest their hopes upon the continuation of the Commissionership. It is the "great buckler," and, were it done away with, "worlds of hid things would throng forth." Tweeddale is equally emphatic (p. 45). The military power must be in other hands before Rothes goes up, or otherwise there will be no control possible over Dalrymple, Drummond, and the soldiery, whose excesses have been the real cause of the 1666 rebellion. Convinced by their arguments Lauderdale secured the King's order to Rothes to lay down the Commissionership in the middle of September (p. 71). The standing army had also been disbanded. The Treasury had been put into commission, Lauderdale's chief friends, Tweeddale, Moray, Kincardine, and Bellenden, forming a majority, so that it was practically under his control. Vivid accounts of the frightful state of the country, brought about by the oppression of the last four years, are contained in the reports of Moray, Tweeddale, Herries and others. Incidental notices of the personal habits of men like Rothes and Hamilton, of their drunkenness and debauchery, heighten the picture. It is somewhat amusing to find Charles, from the midst of his orgies at Whitehall, gravely rebuking them both for their intemperance.

A policy of conciliation, with regard to the rigid Presbyterians, had, meanwhile, been entered upon. Moray's "proposals" (p. 52) were the first overt act. He gives (p. 55) an interesting account of the debates upon them in the Privy Council. In May, 1667 (p. 105), Tweeddale suggests a plan, which we shall afterwards find carried out, urged upon him by the activity of the "outed"

ministers, and by the gross neglect, which he several times mentions, of the Bishops and Episcopal Clergy (p. 119). It was merely that some "of the soberest were settlid somewher in chirchis wher ther was noe danger from them, and bot two or three at one upon tryal of ther behaviour." The parentage of the plan has been disputed, and Sharp was allowed to have the credit, in order that the Bishops might in some measure gain the affections of the people. The carrying out of it, and the effect it had of causing still further division among the Presbyterians, will be found in a series of most interesting letters from Tweeddale and Kincardine (pp. 189-200).

Under the rule of Lauderdale's friends, Scotland now for a short while enjoyed some measure of decent government. Extortion was in a great measure stopped, robbers like Ballantyne (or Bellenden) were brought to account, and the revenue was put in order. Kincardine, a man of sober and well-balanced mind, of high and varied culture, and of great political intelligence, is Lauderdale's chief correspondent at this time. His letters will be found full of interest. I would in particular direct attention to the passage at the bottom of page 136, in which he makes a proposal remarkable to modern ears, but so natural to a Scotch Lowland noble, for securing the peace of the Highlands.

On page 137 we have the first notice of the Remonstrance from the Synod of Glasgow, in which Alexander Burnet took his stand against the new policy. The admission of the outed ministers to preach by permission of the *Council*, without reference to the archbishops, was an attack on the autonomy of the Church certain to be resented by so vehement an upholder of ecclesiastical authority. The manifesto that he now put out, this "new unchristened Remonstrance," gave the excuse for his disgrace, which had been already decided on, and which took place shortly after. The feelings of Lauderdale and of the Scottish nobility generally towards this form of

Church pretension were almost identical with their feelings towards the sterner forms of Presbyterianism. His reflection upon Burnet and his friends illustrates this vividly, "They will be Remonstrators by what name or title soever they are distinguished." Again, speaking of Sharp's behaviour over the Act of Supremacy (p. 163), "I found the old spirit of Presbyterie did remain with some of the Bishops, soe unwilling are Churchmen, by what name or title soever they are dignified, to part with power." To crush this spirit, to show the Church of Scotland that the airs of her haughty sister in England did not become her, more especially as the admission of such claims would be a serious blow to his own supremacy, Lauderdale had now come down as High Commissioner. Another branch of his mission, "the greate businesse y^r Lop is soe particularlie charged withall," as Arlington wrote (p. 139), was the formation of the new militia, to which succeeding letters amply show that Charles was looking, in his usual indefinite way, for possible support against his English subjects. "These six regiments," writes Lauderdale to Charles on his arrival, "you may depend on to be ready to march when and whither you please; and, though I hope you shall not need them, yet it is not amiss to have such a body ready." The same letter contains a striking expression of Lauderdale's views of his duty as Charles's vizier. "All your commands are to me above all human lawes." After a discussion on the proposed Union, which was so urgently desired by Charles and James, but with regard to which Lauderdale's views are difficult to define (see p. 154 and following), the latter turned his attention to "the more cleir asserting of your powers on ecclesiastick matters." The result was the Act of Supremacy, of the debate on which a brilliant description will be found on p. 151. By this Act, which Sharp, who for the while was under Lauderdale's heel, helped to pass, the Scotch Church was placed, both as regarded matters and persons,

in Charles's sole and unfettered power. The first use made of it was to turn Burnet out of his archbishopric. The order for his resignation will be found on p. 166, and the resignation itself on p. 175. His own letters to Sheldon at the time may be read in Appendix A. The letters between Lauderdale, Moray, and Charles, the triumvirate who ruled Scotland at this time, will be found full of interest. That from Lauderdale to Charles on p. 163 should especially be noticed. Nothing could more completely represent the difference between the position of Charles's position in England and Scotland than this letter. "In a word," Lauderdale says, "this Church, nor no meeting nor ecclesiastick person in it, can ever trouble you more unless you please; and the other Act settles you 20 thousand men to make good that power . . . If you command it, not only this militia, but all the sensible men in Scotland, shall march when and where you shall please to command, for never was King so absolute as you are in poor old Scotland."^a What the King thought of Lauderdale's action may be seen on pp. 168, 174. His position in England and his views at this time will be found amusingly illustrated on p. 170. Lauderdale returned to Whitehall at the end of 1669, leaving the Government in the hands of Tweeddale and Kincardine. From both of them he received letters in the beginning of March (pp. 179, 180), showing the effects of Charles's new views on the subject of toleration in Scotland. The Quakers, the novelty of whose doctrines puzzled statesmen and ecclesiastics in England and Scotland equally, appear to have attempted to establish themselves in the northern kingdom, and to have met with a short shrift, though it was impossible to prove against them any heinous offence.

In order that the conciliation policy might have the best chance

^a Perhaps, however, the absolute subjection of the Church to the Crown may be best illustrated by the first part of Lauderdale's letter on p. 171.

of success, Leighton, the saint of the Scotland Church, was now induced, sorely against his will (p. 181), to succeed Burnet in the archbishopric of Glasgow. His endeavours to secure union, with all the causes of their failure, are best read in Wodrow and in the account given by Gilbert Burnet, who was actively employed throughout them. Tweeddale's letters, however, on pp. 204, 208, are valuable illustrations both of the accuracy of Burnet's statement, and of the impracticability of the scheme. Leighton indeed was but ill-fitted, save by his saintliness of disposition, to deal with the irreconcilable earnestness of the one side and the grasping and selfish policy of the other. He had too much—to use his own phrase (p. 238)—of “ye peevish humor of a melancholy monk.” Besides, he had too clear and honest a conviction that he and his order were where they had no business to be, and that they had gained, by their conduct, no title to respect: “The truth is, my Lord, I am greatly ashamed that wee have occasioned so much trouble and done so little or no good, now these seven or eight years since y^r restitution of our order, and after so many favours heapt upon us by his Ma^{ties} Royal goodnesse, not that I would reflect y^e blame of this upon any, save my own share of it upon myself; for, may bee, it is not so much o^r fault as our unhappinesse and y^e reveschnesse of ye matter we have to work upon. But, however, hee that can sit down content with honour and revenue without doing good, especially in so sacred a function, hath, I think, a low and servile soul” (p. 181). “For us of this order in this kingdom, I beleev ’twere little damage either to Church or State, possibly some advantage to both, if we should all retire” (p. 238).

The present volume brings us down to an interesting point in Lauderdale's career. His first wife, Anne Hume, died in 1671; her last letter extant to her husband will be found on p. 203. He

had long been intimate with Lady Dysart, and was now married to her. Under her evil influence all that was worst in his character became intensified. Her jealousy induced him to discard Robert Moray, his noblest and best friend; the only record of the quarrel, and that a doubtful one, will be found on page 211. The non-success of his conciliation policy, and the same jealousy and avariciousness on his wife's part, caused him to break with Tweeddale, to burden the country with taxation, and to enter upon a course with the Covenanters diametrically opposed to the former. Of all the men with whom he had acted cordially, who indeed had done their best to govern the wretched country with some measure of right, Kincardine alone remained with him; and he, as we shall find, was shortly compelled to leave him. Upon his opening Parliament on Nov. 12, 1673, he found himself, to his astonishment, faced by an angry and organised opposition—the “Party,” or the “Faction”—led, and ably led, by Hamilton, who demanded redress of certain abuses, and, further, alterations in the method of submitting measures to Parliament, “all tending to the subversion of that excellent constitution of the articles which is the security of monarchicall government heir.” To this first revolt against the system of purely personal government, which there seems good reason to believe was encouraged, if it were not initiated, by Shaftesbury, Lauderdale gave a passionate and uncompromising opposition, which he was strong enough to make good. He thought it best, however, to give way at once upon the other points.

The present volume contains, then, the steps by which Lauderdale crushed the cabal against his power in 1667, and became the recognised and absolute ruler of Scotland; the disappearance of Rothes, Dalrymple, and the Church-military party; the skilful adaptation of Sharp's baseness to the complete subjection of the Church of

which he was the Primate; the replacement of the disbanded troops by the formation of a militia of 20,000 men, who were at Charles's sole command, and who, by Act of Parliament, were bound to march when and whither he chose within his dominions; the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards the Covenanters; its failure; the return to harsh and blind measures of oppression. We leave Lauderdale in his first flush of angry surprise when after six years of despotic power he suddenly finds himself confronted by the opposition with which he struggled continuously to the end of his career, and against which the personal attachment of Charles and James alone enabled him to make head. We leave him, no longer the "good Maitland," the "gracious youth" of Baillie's affection, bearing on his face, as we see it in a picture by an unknown hand, a frank intelligence and the possibilities of a noble life; but rather such as he had become when there fell upon him the solemn and sorrowful rebuke of his old friend Richard Baxter, such as we see him in Lely's well-known portrait, the type of all that was coarsest and most brutal among the men of Charles's Court; swollen with gluttony, and brutalised with vice, he bears on lip and brow the secure and shameless arrogance which befits the irresponsible proconsul of a distant province, and the privileged comradè in the pleasures of a degraded king.

OSMUND AIRY.

Birmingham,
December, 1884.

TABLE OF ERRATA TO VOL. I.

- Page 10, note c, for *c?* read *c Charles II.*
 Page 11, note b, for *Cootes* read *Coote.*
 Page 15, line 12 of IX., for *hie* read *hie.*
 Page 18, line 3 of XI. A note should have been added to explain that the "east nooke" is the East Nook of Fife. "Our freend in the east nooke" probably meant Rothes.
 Page 19, line 4. A note is wanted to explain that Mr. Kirkton is Charles II.
 See page 20, lines 7 and 21.
 Page 27, line 9 from bottom, for *on* read *of.*
 Page 28, line 6 of XV., for *bing* read *being.*
 Page 28, note b, dele from the words "from the contexts" to the end of the note, and substitute "They refer to Lady and Lord Balcarres respectively. Neal (4to. ed.), vol. ii. ch. 4, p. 538."
 Page 28, note c, dele.
 Page 29, last line, for *Daillé* read *Daillé.*
 Page 31, note a, add "But see Burnet's character of him, vol. i. p. 339."
 Page 36, line 4, for *frequent* read *frequent.*
 Page 36, note a, for *Revolutioners* read *Resolutioners.*
 Page 45, note a, dele, and substitute the following: "Rothes; see Preface, p. ix., and text, pp. 113, 115, 134."
 Page 46, line 3 from bottom, for *conscià* read *conscia.*
 Page 50, line 16, for *I shall be accessory* read *I shall not be accessory.*
 Page 55, note a, for *a?* read *a Mrs. Gillespie.*
 Page 58, line 18, for *his* read *this.*
 Page 63, heading, for *Alexander* read *Archibald.*
 Page 63, line 4 from bottom, for *espealie* read *espealie.*
 Page 64, line 7, for *Duncclun* read *Duncclaw.*
 Page 65, note c, for *His* read *Her.*
 Page 74, line 5, for *?* read *[?]*
 Page 75, line 14, for *?* read *[?]*
 Page 83, line 8 from bottom. Note wanted explaining that Crofton was a Presbyterian Minister in London.
 Page 88, line 3 from bottom, for *mullum* read *nullum.*
 Page 107, line 6 from bottom, dele *[?]*.
 Page 109, note b, for *b?* read *b of Whitehall.* Add to the note the following: "*i.e.* Robert Moray, who was Lord of Session, and who lived next to Lauderdale in Whitehall Gardens."
 Page 111, note b, for *Richmond* read *Lennox and Richmond.*
 Page 114, line 11. Read in one line, *Sir Robert Mory,^s Justice Clarke.* The note mark should be to *Mory*, not to *Clarke.*
 Page 128, line 6 of LXXII., between "to" and "Sheldon" insert *[Mr Red (?)]*
 Page 137, line 2, transfer note mark to *Bennet*, in line 3.
 Page 139, line 3, for *setter* read *letter.*
 Page 139, line 4 from bottom, for *Bermet* read *Bennet.*
 Page 202, note a, for *her sister* read *Lady Margaret Kennedy.*
 Page 245, heading of CLIII., for "23128" read "23125."
 Page 248, note c, for *illusion* read *allusion*, and add "see page 258, line 8 from bottom."
 Page 253, line 16, for *an* read *an.*
 Page 260, line 5, for *.'* read *.'*
 Page 276, note, for *c Drummond* read *e Drummond.*

THE LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

I.—23127, f. 10. Edinburgh, June 6, 1667. ROTHES to LAUDERDALE. Speaks of the "creualtie of the ffanaticks aganst the pur ministirs," giving an instance. The soldiers cannot induce any one to bring in intelligence. Some members of the Council were anxious to give a respite to Mr. Douglas; but he told them that the King had already refused, so they withdrew their desire; justice is to be done on Tuesday. Has heard from Sir Jeremiah Smith^a that the Dutch fleet has gone north; has warned Shetland. Smith has suggested a fort at Inshegaruie.

II.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 34.]

MY DEAR LORD, this is to your selff onlie, Jun. the 13 [1667].

Sir Robert Moray was most uelcom to me till hie shou me uhat his Majestie had desaynied of my being chanslier,^b I dear not disone a great surpraysill, als ueall as an infinet trubell at it, banishmint could not have bin more unuelcom unles it had bin upon the account of his Majesties displesiour, for I teack the great God to be my witnes I knou no mor hou to dischearg that pleas then I had bin bred in an other kingdoun, and to leat my ignorans apier, the thoughts of it is layck to breck my heart; I have ureatin to his

^a Admiral. He was engaged in the great fight of Solebay, June 1665, and was a member of the Navy Board in 1669.

^b Rothés was made Chancellor in order that, while all real power was presently to be taken from him, the appearance of disgrace might be avoided. The vacancy for the Chancellorship had lasted since May, 1664.

Majestie concerning it, and iff you du not asist me to be ffrie of it you ar not so much my ffrind as I beliff; I shall serve his Majestie in anie other stasione uith a sinsear soull so long as I have breathe till hie be a uirie of me, and uhen ever that is I shall uith a voluntarie submisione hertalie agrie to his Majesties plesior; had I bin heard shur I am this busines had not cum so great a lenthe, for I am shur I can meack it apier my being chanslier, as I sead befor, uill bot disserve his Majestie and disgreas me, and so I shall leaf this subjeckt; I uinder much at the confidens of the duthe,^a bot I should be sorie ther wear a ffreanshe earmie to secound them, bot I houp thay uill be busied about ther neu war aganst fflandiers; I pray God preserve us from ther trubell, my vexasion is so great that I am fit to say no mor bot that I am

Your R.

III.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.^b

[23127, f. 38-41.]

[Moray's account of his endeavours to secure Rothes' acquiescence in the matter of the Chancellorship.]

Edr, 17 Jun. '67.

After my L. Coñr had read the King's letter to him hee put it in my hand, & I made it the text on which I talkt to him. Yours I delivered when I came to speak of our silence. I begun with the King's kindness to him, his esteem of him, & confidence in him, with the causes, instances, & certain continuance. I was here interrupted by him with a handsom extenuation of himself, &c. & magnifying of the King's favours & bounty, and after this I went on. I spoke of the King's care of things here, & the well-weighed resolution hee had taken in the settlements intended here, and mentioned them. Hee interposed with expressions of great satisfaction in what concerned the Thesaurary,^c but of great aversion to the chancelor's place, though high acknowledgements of the King's

^a Who had salled up the Thames.

^b This letter is an admirable example of Moray's easy narration.

^c The Treasury was now put into commission.

favor, &c. I delivered the papers, which hee looked upon, but read onely then the warrant for the Chancelor's place & instructions for the Com^{rs} of the Thesaurary, the others he glanced over, and wee continued sometimes to discourse, sometimes to debate, for more hours than I said last, for it was 8 a clock ere wee parted. I made out the King's respect to him (amongst other instances) in pitching upon him as the fittest persone, all things considered, to exercise that function, & that while his M^y thought of establishing it that things might run in their usuall channell, and at the same time to alter the way of his Thesaurary for the good of his affaires & ease of the persones employed as Treasurers in his kingdome, hee was so far from thinking of diminishing him that hee advanced him to the most eminent dignity that is lasting, in the kingdom, and of greatest trust. This he let not go without cheerfull resentments of his M^{ties} regard of him, but added vigor and new arguments to his former against his being Chancelor, as his want of abilities for presiding in the session, &c., his want of faculties for the legall part of that function, as latine, understanding in the lawes, the repeating & stating of debates & questions, &c., and I wanted not answers which, though to me they seemed not answered by anything hee said, yet did not satisfy him. Then hee opposed his youth, his humour & way, &c., and above all his aversion, which hee expressed to be high & insuperable. To every point hee said I found replies that still enervate them to my thinking, and I repeat them not to you because they will easily occurre to you. When I came to speak of the generall silence, I made it one of the arguments of the King's confidence in him, as judging him so disposed to comply with what he knew to be his M^{ties} pleasur, that hee needed not to be advertised beforehand of what his M^y would have him do or be; and enhaunced it by adding, that the King having intended the change in the Thesaurary of Scotland to precede that of England* (though by the death of E. Southampton it hath fallen out otherwise), as a leading

* As with the Church Bill in 1669. Cf. p. 14. It will be seen that more than once Charles carried out in Scotland the policy that he wished England to imitate.

case to the rest, hee could say his pleasure is so readily complied with in Scotland that the first notice of it carries alwayes without hesitation. I noted to the Com^r here the dates of the papers for justifying this point, and mixing things as it occurred. I observed to him also the King's bountyfull care of him in considering this new establishment of the Thesaurary, as easing of him of a weighty load & freeing him (the Com^r) of clamors & vexations, which would be either easily borne or evaded by a number of persones. And oftner than once upon his reiterated excursions against his being chancelor, I repeated with varied expressions what a surprise it would be to the King to finde him stick at passing the warrant for his being chancelor; how it would break his measures; and that, as the King's care of Scotland is one of the things he hath most in his heart & takes greatest joy in, so his minde being at quyet after the meny thoughts spent about a resolution that tended to the good of all things here, the disappointment this sticking at the most materiall point would bring could not but be uneasy to him, especially at this time. Withall I added all I could say to make out that this would prove but a lose of time; that the King's resolution is fixt; that hee would at last submitt to the King's pleasure, and that it were much handsomer, & would lyke the King much better, that were done at first. Here I insisted, urging that his excuses were for the most part such as rendred the King lyable to mistake in his judgement & choyce of persones for offices; and that, although if hee were by the King hee might make use of a direct declining of the employment upon the account of want of ability, &c., so hee submitted to the King's determination at last; yet at a distance, and after such circumstances in communicating the King's pleasure to him as the sending of one to say what long letters could not, and would have taken long time to put to an end, the onely way is to acquiesce in what was resolved & do what is appointed, and then there will be room to say what hee will; and if the King findes such weight in his reasons as require it, he can then rectify the matter at his pleasure. I added that the former part of this had been mine own

practise, upon the King's discovering to me his pleasure I should serve him in his Thesaurary. I had, with a modesty that could not offend him and a submissive preface, declined the honor he did put upon me, alleaging my unacquaintedness with things of that nature, &c., and yet, when after all I could say hee stood firm, I yeelded. And then I subjoined that if I had not been by him, but that his pleasure had been signified to me as it is now to his Grace, without the least shadow of hesitation I would forthwith have gone along with it, and then found enough to say that could not but be as satisfactory to the King as fit for me; and that this I would do whatsoever the employment were or my aversion to it, which should ever be sacrificed to his M^{ties} pleasure.

But I must not pretend to acquaint you with every circumstance of so many houres unintermitted conversation, nor with what further converse wee had yesterday in the evening upon the same subject. I shall therefore add but a few heads more, enlarging but sparingly. Amongst other arguments for his present acceptance & passing the signature, I insisted on the charge I had to impart all to the Council, how that would sound if hee should there say anything lyke delay or declining, to which after severall pressings, all I could say did not make him say hee would forbear to excuse himself. On Saturday I had spoke to him of my acquainting the Council with what I brought as a thing I was obliged to. Hee had read also my private instructions, and argued from the words I was not tyed to any time in it, and, it seemes, conceived he had made me consent to forbear to intimate the King's commaunds to the council, till hee had an answere to his Saturdays letter; but yesterday, when he told me he had writ to you to that purpos, I minded him of his mistake, & told him I could not delay it, not onely because of the charge he had laid on me, though in termes that seeme to admitt of latitude but indeed do not, but because I should disserve the King in so doing, by concealing from the Council that which the King had resolved both as good for his own service & the benefite of his kingdom; and though he at last acquiesced in my

reasons & resolution, as I conceived, hee again told me he would excuse himself as to the chancelors place.

This, now, I think, may serve for your satisfaction, as well as my exoneration, whereof you will impart to the King what is not superfluous. Adieu.

IV.—23127, f. 50. June 20, 1667. ROTHES to LAUDERDALE. Acknowledges arms sent from England; more are wanted, but merchants and monied men will not lend on account of the "ticklishnes off the tymes"; urges immediate raising of the militia without waiting for arms "both ffor our securitie at hoom, and for onr speedie raiseing of fforces, to attend his Ma^{tie} in England, iff his ocationes shall call ffor them." Lord George Douglas's^a regiment to be recruited. Every effort shall be made by the Scotch "capers"^b to harass the Dutch fishing.

V.—THE EARL OF TWERDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 64.]

Edenbrought, 22 Jun. 67.

It was talkid yistirday that the Lewtenant General^c wold be with yow befor thes com to your hands, it is denyed this day, uither he goes or not it uill not be amise to gues at his errand. If it be to give ane account of matters heir lett him sett under his hand uhat he informs, that uhat yow know not to ansuer may receave ane from this, that his Ma^{ties} ears be not deaffid, nor his memory burdenid uith groundles reports and idle visions & dreams. If to windicat the deportment of the officers and souldery, his best plea will be that formal complaints ar not mead, and the reaseone of

^a See Douglas's letters to Lauderdale, *Camden Miscellany* for 1883.

^b Privateers.

^c Drummond.

that is the country dar not mak them, nor know to uhom the should offer them, bot, will the king apoint the councel judgis of the countrys complaints, to uhom hithertils they have not bein sufferid to aply, its sad conditione will soon apear.

If his errand be to indeavour any alteratione of his Ma^{ties} resolutions for settling the gouernment heir you will doubtles tak cair to see his instructions, & that his credentials be ample, sinc the Comiss: thinks fitt to ansuer his Ma^{ty} by a messinger of his ouen. And least yow treat him not according to his pretentions I have bein told by serious persons that he was desingid for that trust which is now refusid^a when he uent last up, possibly he intends to prosecut that desinge upon this refusal: I doe not aprehend his Ma^{ty} can be movid to alter soe nesiesiar & ueal groundid resolutions which gives soe general satisfactiōe to all sober persons, Yitt that ther be noe demur nor hesitacione in prosecutione therof for God sak moue the king to prepare the Duk of York against all that can be suggestid to him in prejudic ther of. And hasten the returne if yow think fitt by a fleeing pakquet, and if this messenger cum endeawur the ans: com befor at least that he returne without on to thos matters uherin the king hes not imployid him,^b but having imployid S^r Rob. Murray, it is a presumption in any other to interpose, & if I may say soe not only argues littel trust in him & as littel confidenc of yow, bot in som measur the king is concerned. When they can say nothing els they uill have recours to ther old remedy of posing the clergy w^t apprehensions that ther ruin is intendit, uherin the king's credit is not a littel concernid as if his ouen principals uer changid or he had mead chays of persons uold mak it their interest to overthrow them, & therefor they will represent that the country was raysid w^t expectatione of the dounfal of the bishops upon what was heird of my lord St. And: and that this chang in the government brings down ther support, and the langwage of the one end of the toune is, God help the Bishops, bot it

^a The Chancellorship.

^b This sentence is very difficult to construe. I think there should be a stop at "befor," but cannot decide.

peopel, that this was always his opinione, & in token thereof he had caryed a desir from my lord Comiss: (the time he went up befor this last) to be easid of that burden & that the king uold name a chancelour, St. Andrews beeing desingid, bot when the king askid his priuate opinione he differid as to the persone, which delayid any resolutione at that time. Bot much will depend on the primate when he coms, who still hath the absolute rewl of the clergy, beeing esteemd by them the wiser man. The leaving him out of the comissione of exchequer uill be mead us of to dissatisfy him, bott I am told by his greatest confidents that this tueelve month he hes complaind of the continuanc of a comiss: & that nothing will prewail with him to desir it longer. The nobility are mead belive that ther preferment to troupes was by my lord comiss means, & ther continwing doth depend on him, beeing able in that capacity so to order matters & represent them as troupes shal be nesessar, & the exchequer still at his disposal, & the distributione of the king's fawours to be solely by him, wherin I find few or non will acknowledge yow to have any shayer. If the Comissione continew to the latter end of jully himself intends to be up in agust, & in the mean time littel discovery will be mead of the ewils the country groans under or adwantadg felt of his Ma^{ties} resolutions for eas therof, wheras a trewer prospect will be had of the conditione of affairs in on month after this curtain is drauen, then a uhole years sufferings uill make apear, & if his Ma^{tie} find it not soe the charg sauid uill compence all the lose or hazard, & the remeed is still at hand. I have heird that the Spanish viceroys that ar changid every 3 years stay 40 days in the provinc after he uho succeeds them coms into it, & somewhat lik this was amongst the Romans. Bot, blessid be God, ue ar nether under a commonuealth nor stand in fear of prowinciating, though this politike may now serve our turne.

VIII.—23127, f. 78. "Edenbrught, 27 June" [1667.]
TWEEDDALE TO LAUDERDALE. The councils of war usurp the right of judging the rebels, of whom Dalyell has affirmed that "ther was noe mor to be doune bot tak them out and hang them." "When the news of the Dutch coming in to Chattam cam the reflectione theron was, no sojer shal live a year longer."

IX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[There is a design to keep up a military force for purposes of extortion. Attempts are being made to frighten the clergy into compliance by tales of insurrection in the west.]

[23127, f. 88.]

1 July, '67.

This is intended for no eye but your own, though you may possibly think fit to make use of some things in it to the king, or others on occasion. The other I do intend so to write as it may be shewed the king. So when you have anything to say to me that is onely for friends you may put it under S. Simon's^a cover or say it to him, for I may sometimes receive letters from you when it will be expected they shall be shewn; to which I may be engaged by shewing me what they receive from you, who expect it, as hath been done as often as letters have come from you since my arrivall, and I lyke-wise have shewn yours, onely your last having come to my hands on Saturday, my L. Com^r hath not yet seen it, but he shall to-morrow, when he comes in from Humbie; for I finde it writ so as if meant to be shewn, though it will discover to him that I know he desired leave to come to court, which he hath not yet told me, though he promised to shew me the copy of the letter he wrote first after my arrivall, when I read to him my long one.

Yet if on consultation with S. Simon and Arg. we conclude it fitter not to shew your Lordships, I will abstain, for the truth is, all things laid together that the king writes and you write, one would think some cooling observations may be gathered out of

^a Pseudonym for Tweeddale, usually written shortly S.S.

them. Here Earl Southesk^a presses me to second a desire he will make to you himself, that the Mr of Ramseys place be not disposed of till his process be over. S. W. Ker doth put L. Bell: first in the Commission of the Thesaurry. L. Coch. storms not more at it than L. Bell:^b that it should be questioned. I, as I told you, justify the virgula after L. Bell:^c name, where Lord Coch^s is to be taken in with your hand writing, and you yourself affirm it, by your attestation, to be done by the king's command. Now to other matters.

I told you formerly all I had spoke with were pleased with what I brought to the Commissioner, and one more. The one more^c is cousin to him who hath the key of my cabinet there, of whom more, after I have told you that, for aught I can yet finde, il n'y a une vivante icy, exceptez seulement les compagnons de la bouteille,^d et quelques officiers qui sont pilleurs,^e qui n'en sont oises, et qui ne desirent que d'autres changes soyent bien tost cassees. The person expressing to me his disapproving of what was done, as if there had been room for advysing the king to alter his resolutions, which I replied upon roundly, amongst other things said,—I think I repeat the words, or near them,—that the news of the kings being dissatisfied with the Archb. of St. Andrews had raised the Presbyterians high, for from thence they promised themselves the speedy downfall of bishops, and withall they said there would shortly be a change in the state too, meaning that friends and supports of the Church would be turned out. I said enough to render the first part concerning the downfall of bishops a ridiculous conclusion, but was interrupted before I could say anything of the last, and this was about 12 dayes ago, since when we have conferred no more. That short assertion which I opposed serves for a text, which Les Goinfres^f enlarge and comment upon so lustily, so do some litle emissaries. A presbyterian design; God help the Bishops, &c. And Laud: is

^a Whose billet Primrose snipped.—Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 75.

^b Bellenden was noted for his violent temper at the Council and Treasury.

^c See 23127, f. 69, p. 9.

^d *e. g.*, Hamilton, see p. 39.

^e *e. g.*, Dalzell.

^f The "Gormandizers," Rothes and Hamilton.

not onely author of these matters, but concluded to be the enemy and destroyer of the Lord Com^r, and by consequence of all those that are well with him and depend upon him. But though by these people the Com^r be concluded to be broke, yet I do not find he takes anything so ill as the secresy which hath been used in these matters,^a and the surprising of him with them as importing a change if not a distrust in the king and unkindness in Laud: and this notwithstanding all hath been said by me in that chapter.

In sum they are ill pleased, and apprehending other changes yet to come; nothing will be left unattempted that may prevent them. There is paines taken to move the clergy to represent the usefulness or necessity of a Com^r as to their concerns both to the king and those near him, that they think will do for them. But unless the Archb: of Gl: change from what he sayes to me and others he will not meddle in that. And as for the primat, near friends of his whom you trust tell me he will acquiesce in what is done, and sayes he will never more be for Com^{ra} nor armies.^b He is to be in toun, I think, this day. We intend to keep very fair with him. So, the 2 Archb^s not meddling, the others either will abstain or be insignificant.

Now let me tell you I have good ground to aver that there is a design amongst those in chief military employment to fix it, and themselves in it. This let me endeavour to make out now, other things another time. I gather it first from their discourses. I am a witness to some, and others are told me by trusty persons. 2. The humours, habitudes, maximes, condition and practises of the persons render it highly probable, these need not be laid out to you. And the very wayes that are taken, and arguments that are used for making a military power lasting, may in the last place pass well enough as an undeniable argument [that] it is designed. They know very well how much the king's heart is set upon the settlement, security, and peace of this church and state; and therefore, though no eyes but theirs see caus for it, and the clergy do not second

^a See the colour put upon this by Moray in 23127, f. 38.

^b Cf. his letters in the Appendix.

them in it, they talk of nothing more than imminent and unavoidable insurrections in the west. To this they add assurances of an universall disposition in the whole kingdom to shake off Episcopall government, and withall represent the spreading of discontents and ill humours every where upon severall accounts, intending thereby to evince the absolute necessity of having a constant great military force to prevent, curb, and suppress all insurrections and rebellions. And it may rationally be thought that it is not altogether out of pure zeal to religion that they whose wayes and tenets speak them not saints plead for preserving of Bishops: nor out of a clear love to the peace and welfare of the country that they who devise and practise new and unheard of wayes to fleece and oppress it cry out of the pressure and grievances of it. Instances of these fleecings and oppressions you know many, but there are very many more that you do not yet. And the worst is (let me tell it here) their making themselves judges, their threatening and ill-usage of complainers, and assailing or parlying the officers and soters that are complained of, seems to render all redress impossible. This may seem at this time for a sufficient proof that there is a designe amongst them to establish a military extraordinary power; less will suffice to divine they study to fix themselves in it, considering what hath already been said. Yet a word or 2 of the wayes and meanes used to that end may clear it more fully. They cry up the necessity of a Com^r, and inveigh against all changes as presbyterian designes; as they do those now brought in, even though they be convinced they flow from the king, as his hand witnesses, and that the Thesaurary of England was put in Com^a before that for Scotland came hither a least a moneth.^a In fine, the barring of further changes regards the persones employed in military trust principally, the rest being pretences that take that in necessity; and if the suggestion take with the king, they see nobody can come between them and the Com^r.

I have just now been with the Archb. of St. Andr., and left the other Archb. with him. Wee had talke of many matters. He

^a Cf. p. 3.

acquiesces in the kings pleasure, and is much more disposed to expect good to the Church from sober and vertuous persons than others. He inveighs against keeping up of forces upon an ecclesiastical account, and thinks bishops should rather quit their gowns than oblige the king to keep up forces to maintain them.^a Hee knows nothing hath been done to the behoof of the Church by vertue of a Com^r, and, though he was not a stranger to the making of one, yet had not that hand in it the world thinks. Hee cryes out upon the quartering and localities: and if it were not for our warres with our neighbours would be for no force.

2 Jul. Yesternight S.S. had discourse with the primate, who expressed himself to him to the same effect he had done to me. So that there is no appearance the clergy will make applications either for reflecting on what is done or preventing what may be done more.

As to advyce concerning the regulating and paying of the forces, we are dayly talking of it, and you will get it shortly; were it once resolved we shall not have peace this summer, it would soon be clear what were fit to advise, and it seems a fortnight more may make that known. However, our pains shall not be spared. Of matters relating to the west countrey I do not intend to say much, onely in sum. The more I enquire, the less appearance I finde that there was a formed designe of rebellion, and that it might have been more easily quasht than it was. And the present condition of it is, that, the old corns being eaten up and the land ill-laboured, their straits there are lyke to be great. I onely mention these things now as topicks that may help to make out one of the 2 points I have in the other half sheet been endeavouring to prove.

Where you see my mason mark you will remember what it means.^b

^a With his usual cunning Sharp sees that it will be best for him to abjure Rothes and all his works. It had been through him that the money intended for the relief of the ruined nobility had been applied to raising the standing forces. Compare the letters in the Appendix.

^b Viz., that writing follows in sympathetic ink.

I think I will play the mason in my next. I keep no copies of my letters; you may therefore possibly think it not unfit to keep some of them till the use of them be over. This morning the warrant for the chancelor's place was not yet given to write out for the Seal, but it will be done time enough to present to the council on Thursday.

&c. &c. &c.

Adieu.

X.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 92.]

Edenbr. 2 July, '67.

The apprehensions of dissatisfaction amongst the clerg is almost over. My lord St. And: hath soe fully expressid himself of all matters to M:R: and me as he hath wrott, and the practisis with the nobility doth ewanish, nothing thereof now remayning bot a desinge to have some addit to the comissione for the Treassury; and, for any thing I can learn, D: H: is the man, & tæe greatest adherent to the present constitutione, of lait desinged also to be chancour, but the King hath mead a much better choyse. The comissione to the great seal is not yitt uritting, the comissioner coming only to tounne this afternounge. I pray God send us good news from you. Adieu.

Now that uce uritt sometims matters of importanc, it will be fitt yow tak heed uhat becoms of letters that they come in noe hand bott your ouen.

XI.—23127, f. 98. July 4, 1667. ROTHES to LAUDERDALE. Takes the chancellorship "with a sad hert"; expresses complete belief in Lauderdale's friendship for him.

XII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 105.]

Edenbrught, 6 July, '67.

Sir Will. Bruce his accounts ar like to be first fallen on, that they may know what conditione the army is into, and how the asesment is payid. I am told they will find 300*l.* sterlinge given to the General Lieutenant toward the expenc of his last journey to London. The A. B. G. informs the primate that it was under his Majestie's consideration whether the P. should be turnd out or his see governed by a comissione, and that the B. of Edenbr.^a was designed to be putt in his roum. And thes thoughts beeing layd aside, the B. of Glas. beeing with you in your closet, you should advise him to ask his Majestie what his resolutione was concerning my Lord St. Andreis, and howe thos privedgis of recomending persons and sending presentations should be exercid. To which he got noe ansuer, bot when he was about to tak his leaue you again moved it to the King yourself, and he, turning to the window, whistled, and said, lett them continue as they ar. Whither the A: B, doth you wrong, that the Pimate may misunderstand you, or the Pimate him, that you may misunderstand the A: B, as I heir from you I shall furdur discover. The treuth is, both cary fayr and the Pimate complains most of the comissioner for that hes befallen him, and when I call to mind what you said to the King I think you may now have ane opurtunity to mak good us of his frindshipe.^b I believe he will be glad of yours; give your frinds what measurs therin you pleas.

My lord Cochrane^c is not mentioned in the instructions to the commissioners, and has noe pensione; I suppos the King intends on and he expects it; if you pleies to surprice him with it you will oblidge him.

Dearest brother, Adieu.

^a Wishart.^b Moray afterwards says of Lauderdale, that he "knew how to make use of a knave as well as another." See page 31, line 6.^c Cochrane had been in the confidence of the archbishops and appears to have been gained by Lauderdale now.—Cf. Appendix.

XIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 111.]

Edenbrught, 9 July, '67.

Ther was a report mead this day in counceil by a comittee that uer apointid to examine prisoners that rankid them in 4 sorts, one that confessid the had bein in the rebelione and uold find cawtione for the pace in the futtur if the could have ther liberty, but uold nether tak the oathe of aleadganc nor declaratiune; thes the counceil appointed to be sent to barbados with the first occasion, & if the uer again found to proceed to death. A seconde sort uho confessid the uer in the rebelione bot uer very penitent & desird they might tak the oath of aleadganc & declaratiune & finding surty might hav ther liberty. Duk Ham. movid ther case might be representid to the king, and, the lewtenant general seconding him, nothing was spok agains it. It was by them also offerid that all thos that uold doe soe, though fugitive, might be aloud to retorne finding cawtione to live peacably, except thos uer containd in the summonds of treasone. And my lord chancclour is to uritt to your lo/ to know the kings pleasur therein; this uill doubtles bring of a great many, & secure the receivers of them, uhereof it is said there are stor in clidsdale, bot certainly it wil contribute to the quiet of the country and leave the feuer outlaws to be taken wherein ther is soe littel speed come. A thrid sort uer prisoners upon suspiciune of beeing w^t the rebels or as aiding, abaitting or assisting them, uho denyed all, but uold nether tak the oath of aleadganc nor sing the declaratiune; thes ar contnewd in prisone till ewidenc be got of thar adesione (?), & are then to be procescid and sent after the first sort if found guilty. The last uer putt in upon the sam suspiciune denyd gwilt tot ar uilling to sing the declaratiune & tak the oath; thes ar enlargid, finding cawtione for the pac. Ther was 19 of the first sort, 3 of the nixt, and 24 of the 3 sort, and 11 of the fourth. My intelligenc this day from in Dumfrise is that thos fanatika

which uer said to be together are never sein in the day, bot in the night fal upon Minesters housis or such other as they have malice to, beeing 20 or 30 together : and on Mr. william blak, minister of closburn,* ane old man, hes bein sorly beatten; if not kild, by them. As yitt it is not thought fitt to send any of the troups nor foot there, and my lord commissioner said he had hardly urot of it, bot to prevent uhat you might heir from Carlile and to assure that nothing was to be aprehendid from them. I was never mor ueary and will therfor say nothing of your ouen bussness, though I diesingd it, till the nixt.

Dearest Brother, Adiew.

XIV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23.127, f. 113.]

[This vivid letter should be read in connection with No. IX. p. 11.]

[*In sympathetic ink.*]

Edinb. 9 July, '67.

Till now I was not master of time and materialls to write thus. The first thing I have to say is that the very first day I conferred with E. R. hee told me hee lyked sogeris above all other wayes of living. That he would be well pleased to have none other employment but the command of a troop of horse or so, and that he had rather have 500*l.* a year as a soger than 2000*l.* any other way. By this I understood that, or so meant, Chief Commaund ; and by the rest a desire to have military power kept up,^b especially the other considerations being added which I mentioned formerly. Th: D:^c was heard to swear by divers witnesses: That the sword shall govern who will, who will not, and that W. D.^d is of that mind I think you do not doubt.

* For other cases see Archbishop Burnet's letter of Nov. 6, 1667, in the Appendix.

^b See 23127, f. 88.

^c Dalryell.

^d Drummond.

Now let me tell you that all any body can tell you of the corrupt state of things and persons here can as litle make you imagine it as it is as one who never saw the ruins of London can comprehend it by any description any body can make of it.

Of the chief prelates you know enough though not all, nor I yet. Of other ecclesiastics of all sorts you do not imagine the wildness. But one thing I shall now onely touch till I can see things more particularly that surprizes most of all others, I am deadly affrayed wee shall discover more horrid things in the mannagement of the King's Rents than would ever have entered in your heart to think of. But of these and all other grievances by the misgovernment of civil and military affaires we shall not know the bottom till the great Buckler, the Commission, be taken away, and then worlds of hid things will throng forth.

This morning S. A. Wedderburn whispered to me grievous enormities committed by the 2 troops near Dundee; then others have done so of others. But they forbear to complain, till exorbitant power be out of the way. This is enough of these matters at this time. Now, certainly, immediately upon the assurance of peace, the King will easily part with a Com^r and Generalls. And certainly, the sooner the better for his service and the good of all things you wish well to here. The Alarum S. S. will give you an exact account of which I think will not at all differ from what E. R. will say and hath said. But if it be pressed in time, be what it will, there can be no consequences considerable; though magnifying of matters and representations of future fears and dangers be some peoples business. Again, Hasten the downlaying of the Commission. The Generallship may stand a while. You will remember all and weigh it well.

Adieu.

XV.—23127, f. 128. Edinburgh, July 16, 1667. ROBERT MORAY to LAUDERDALE. Is conferring with friends as to the number of troops that should be kept up. Lauderdale must not be guided by purposely got-up stories about "mad phanaticks." It will be well to keep one company in Shetland in view of a possible attack by the Dutch.

XVI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 124.]

Bruntstain, 19 Jull. '67,

If the Comissioner goe it is said Duk hamiltonne shal goe uith him, who is as much concernid in the aprehensione of lossing his troupe as any, & belike it is a p^t of his errand, for they lay count the troups shal continew in pay till ther returne, which is 200^{lb} sterlinge to the King dayly. Yow see by uhat arts ther desing is adwancid. Duke hamiltonne is lost to yow for not making him a comiss. of the treasurie, that he might be better inablid to mak his accounts, it is said now yow ar both secretar & treasurer, & that Will Sharp is by your apointment cashkeepper, bot it is said the uest fild is not com in yitt, a proverb used to express that all is not out of Hazard of shaking. I fear nothing heir, for all the industry is uesid even w^t ministers to speak in pulpit mens aprehenseons of the Hazard of ther interests, as the danger off the publike of Church & state, bot this is refusid them, & yow shal heir mor of it by the nixt; for God sak on pull mor And put not yourself to tugging. and yow shal mak a pleasant discovery. Adieu.

XVII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[From this letter we see that Sharp has thrown himself entirely in to Lauderdale's policy, and given up his old friends.]

[23127, f. 141.]

Edenbrought, 23 Jull. 67.

I was this afternoon with my Lord Primate, and could not give a stope to the current of my ouen ingenuety till I shew him what you had wrott. Excuse me if I went to far, bot I hope you will not be to sever when I tell you that after he had read it he expressed so great satisfacione therwith as in speaking his eys stood a bak watter, and thin he repeatid all had bein said to him of you, and reflectid upon all the kindnes and faivours he had receavid from you, and that the first time he aprehendid you displeasid with him was upon my account, for a caus I am sure you never was, nor I should never have bein, displeasid, and confessid he had wrott to my Lord of Canterbury to obstruct my advancement to the then vaccant place,^a and that therafter other mens jelowsys of you had mead him say thos things to you that wer not weal taken of his hand; bot he was now convincid that all along you had dealt generously and nobely with him, and that he was perswadid you and your frinds wold doe more for the settelment of the Church then thos they had trusted mor. He said ther wold now be great undertakings to introduc the English Liturgy and perfit an uniformity, that an army might be continewed for that end, bot he was of the mind that it wer not fitt thos things should be now atimptid. And for the present security he saw noe nide of mor troups then on or two at most, that he fearid nothing from thos peopel in the west, that they wer now quit broke, and that a few persons of interest ther might secur the pac of thos countrys if put

* The Chancellorship.

to answer and ingadge therfor, that he knew on troupe in the beginning of the lait insurrectione might have suppressid it, that ane army shal always be neided, if insurrection be not at the beginning suppressid, that he never saw security to ther order which was foundid in pac and [fitted?] for it by force and armys. In soune he said mor then I can repeat, and told me a journey was intendit with great confidenc to overturne all indeavours of settlement upon old foundations, in sober mens hands as he was pleased to call them, bot did assure me the clergy, notwithstanding all indeavours to the contrary, wer weal satisfied, and did heartily close with and acquiesce to what was down, and wold firmly so continew. You will I suppose heir from himself, &c.,

Soe, dearest Brother, Adieu.

XVIII.—SIR J. HERRIES TO THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE.

[This shows how false stories of rebellion were manufactured, and the extortion which was being practised. This is repeated with emphasis in the next letter.]

[23127, f. 146.]

MY LORD,

Terreglis, the 24 of Julij, 1667.

I hope yor Lo/ will pardon me that I did not kis yo^r hands befor I came out of the toune, for that alarme anent the rysing of rebels in this cuntrie came so hott, while I was at Wintoune, that I resolved to go suddenlie home and return again/. But when I cam in the cuntrie, I found no such thing, nor any such motion, nor can I give yo^r Lo/ any accompt upon what mis-information my Lord Annandaill did informe the counsell, onlie there arose such a report in Drumfries wth some of the lyfeguard, and others of his troupe being there, wold make themselves beleve, when in the mean tyme there was nothing appeared but a fancie/. My Lord, the trewth is, some thritie or fortie fellowes, whoe are rebells, that keep the hills, dispersed, never above four or five appearing together,

who have fallen doune and robt severall ministers howses, both in Galloway and Nithsdaill, and yet not certain whither it be they, or idle cuntrie fellowes in there name/. But for any danger of rysing in the cuntrie, I shall give yow assurance there is no such thing either feared or licklie, so that at present there is no necessitie of any partie to be sent hear/. But if anything shall aryse, that merits yo^r Lo/ information, yow shall be certain to have tymous notice/. My Lord, as for my opinion, I can hardlie tell what to say, for, as there is [no] necessitie of suppressing these fellowes by armes, so it is not a thing to be absolutlie neglected, but that some cours wold be thought upon by the counsell to reduce them/. I told my opinion alreddie, both to the commissioner and to the leutenant generall, w^{ch} was, that these rebels whoe are landed men or leaders of the rest might abyd under proscription, and grant indempnite to the rest upon such conditions as the counsell wold prescryve, either by fynding caution (such as they could gett) to live honest subjects in tyme to come, or any other way that should be thought more fitt; and by this means they wold again take themselves to service, and work, for I know they are veried. Yo^r Lo/ desyres to know, if the gentrie of this cuntrie wold undertake to suppress them, wherby co^missions might be granted, w^{ch} I think they wold willinglie doe, if they were made frie from the burthen of soldyers, but, both to maintain soldyers, and doe the work themselves, yo^r Lo/ may easilie consider to be a hard task/. But if any such thing shall be thought upon, if yo^r Lo/ will let me know, I shall immediatlie give yow the resolution of the cuntrie.

My Lord, S^r William Ballantyne is again returned, and is marcht up to the new toun of Galloway, where he was before, and hes taken from Drumfries about a dossen of the lyfeguard whoe lyes there upon cess/. But I did not enquire after his co^mission, since the last co^mission he carried he refused to produce, w^{ch} was allowed by the counsell of warr, so that hereafter we shall take all upon trust/. I receaved yesterday letters from that pairt where he lyes, w^{ch} was that he hes asked nothing yet, but taken in some

more bands for rebells goods, and hes adverteised some people of whome he hes bands payable at Lammas to provyd there money/. I think I gave yo^r Lo/ information how he abused the cuntrie in forcing many honest men, whoe had no accession at all to the rebellion, to grant him bands of borrowed money, some payable now, but most at Mertinmas next; I sheu yo^r Lo/ and humblie desyres that the exchecker wold take notice, and be the exactors of these bands themselves, for if yow suffer him once to uplift the money, I beleve yow shall fynd but a ragged accompt from him again/. But if yow will cause him delyver all the bands to the exchecker, we shall doe the best we can heer to get yow a trew accompt, if he shall abstract any/. And in the mean tyme I wold humblie entreat yo^r Lo/ to move some course anent the distinction of that number of bands w^{ch} he hes, wherby those that have been extorted from honest men may be destinguisht from those w^{ch} are taken for escheted goods/. And if yo^r Lo/ shall thinke to move this, that you wold be pleased to send in a restraint for answering him, for he will fall upon men w^t all the means he can/. My Lord, I shall be glad that those papers I gave yow may prove to doe yow service, otherwayes yo^r Lo/ will be mynd full to returne them to me again/. I shall now cease to trouble yo^r Lo/ any more at present, but if any of importance occur in this cuntrie I shall not fail to acquaint yow/. So I sirelie (?) confess my selfe to be,

My Lord,

Yo^r Lo/ most faithfull servant,

J. HERREIS.

For my Noble Lord
The Earle of Tweddail.

XIX.—GEORGE MAXWELL TO THOMAS HAY.

[23127, f. 148.]

SIR,

Munsches,^a y^e 24 of Julie, 1667.

Your I instantlie recavid. And as to yoise rumors of the rysing of whigis in yis steuartrie shortlie, I assure you it was moist false and untreu: for as I formerlie wryt to you this four months past ther was not a man of yam hard to be togither (save four baise disperat fellouis) yat hurt on minister^b and plunderit his house, and trubilit anoyer ministers house,^c himselfe being living elsewher and 7 of yam that ran away with sergane M'intoche meir, and sinsyne or at present ther is no stuir, no not so much as any of yam to be hard of, for iff they be in ye cuntrie they ar in ye far west montanes, wher yer is no geting of yam unlese my Lord Comisior^s grace and his Majesties privie [council] wald authorice such noblemen and gentilmen in ye cuntrie as war of knowne integritie with armes to pershew yam. And iff that war I dar say in a short space we wald be cline of all such sort of cattell: for Sir W^m Vallandyne he is nou in ye neutoun of Gallause, and hes some feu horse with him/ bot I heir nothing he is doing bot seiking in his bands and areirs of ye phanaticks goods. You micht bene confident give yer had bene anie motion of yam worth the wrytine I wald a beine the first informer, and when anything acquires heir you sall heir it from,

Sir, yo^r obleigid frend and servant,

GEO: MAXUELL.

ffor my much honorid

Mr. Thomas Hay, one of ye

Clerks of his Majesties Sessione.

^a In Kirkcudbright.^b Of Borge.^c Of Balmaghie. They "ruffillit" his house.

XX.—SIR WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY* TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 158.]

My L^d,

Having by sundry dispatches given his Ma^{tie} a constant account of his affaires & my way of proceeding heir & the success I have had wth this devided nation (who are now pretty uell united), & knowing you are noe stranger to those trāsactions I shall omitt any repetition. But not the presenting my humble service to yo^r L^p, who, for an old jockey if not for countryes sake, I am .confident will assist me in a request I have to ma^{ke}.

Some of yo^r nation I finde here & those good subiects, I wish there were more of them, the worst of whom would serve my turne & live happily here and doe the King good service, 3 or 4000 servants would upon honorable termes be here entertained, and if in my time they can be supplied, this country will be willing to pay for their passage & they shall bee freemen after one yeares service, or if by the way of barter they will give good rates for them obleiging them to 4 yeares service, by such a supply whither peace or warr I should be able to grapple wth Mons^r. This I beseech yo^r L^p to promote. I do assuer you (though I decline y^r [y^e?] Royall company in y^t point, who will destroy these plantations if not regulated) I shall willingly be yo^r factor or to any person of Honor of yo^r nation. My L^d Twiddall I presume may endeavor to promote this proposall, to whom I beg my humble service.

This island if rightly supplyd wth men & shipps may give check to Don Hauns & Mons^r. when my master pleaseth, and should we have peace (w^{ch} is here hoped) I am ffor keeping my horse in case to chopp up a match at my best advantage; if you understand not this language Suffolk doth, but I take yo^r L^p to be a generall read person.

* Governor of the Barbados.

Wee have more then a good many Irish amongst us here, and I am for the downright Scot, who I am certaine will fight wth a crucifixe about the neck. I am trubled at present wth an effeminate desease called a ffellon on my fore finger of my right. I beseech you lett y^t excuse this scribble w^{ch} as it might have been longer see fairer written, but considering to whom I write, this is too large a diversion from yo^r more serious affaires; however I must beg yo^r L^{ps} pardon for adding this one word more, that of a certaine I am,

My L^a,

Yo^r L^{ps}

Most faithful servant,

WILL. WILLOUGHBY.

Barbados, July 26th, '67.

XXI.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[Desires complete reconciliation with Lauderdale.]

[23127, f. 166.]

May it pleas your Lo^p:

Since my recovery from a long seeknes, I had laily the favour to see that under your Lo^ps hand which oblidges me to crave leave to offer this to your Lo^ps consideration. In the first place I doe acknowledg your favour and good nature, y^t after such recentments of my carriage towards your Lo^p: and temptations givin by thos who I find have done me ill offices at court of whom I have deserved better usage, your Lo^p: have not been instigated to prosecute those intentments of disgrace and injustice to that length which coñion bruit heer sayes were layed against me.* Next as I cannot be supposed to have invented that which was confidently asserted to me of your Lo^ps moving once and again for taking away those priviledges, which I acknowledg by your favour were indulged by his M^{aty} to the see of St. Andrews in my person, so by your late

* That he was to be deprived of his sec. See page 17.

letter to the Earle of Tweddeal I am fully satisfied y^t the motion did not flow from your Lo^p, and from thence I may reasonably conceive that your prejudice against me was not so rooted as made yow resolve to destroy me, and had done it ignominiously, had it not been for the interposition of some with his sacred Ma^{ty} for a stopp; which hath been the language sounding in my ears for severall weeks past; further I doe confess to your Lo^p: y^t no affliction ever befell me which hath been so greivous as to find I had fallin under your displeasure; I made small reckoning of the evils which therby come upon my person and condition, God having armed me with patience and submission; but considering y^t to my experience, and in the generall opinion of all heer, and at the court, your Lo^p: had intertained me with more intimacy and trust then any churchman (upon which account I know I have been and am to this day persecuted by some), and beeng conscious y^t I have been more oblidged by effects of special favour both befor and since the Kings happie restauration, from your Lo^p: then from any person in the kingdoms, your changing your respect and way of kyndnes towards me into distaste and contempt (of which some suspicions and surmises have been above these two years), might resart in the construction of the most, these imputations of ingratitude and unworthines upon me, which are odious in one of my station in the Church, and would be more bitter to me then death, did my heart accuse me of those injuries done to your Lo^p: which have been charged upon me; and had I known y^t at my last beeng at Court, these ill impressions of me had struck so with you as since I have found, I had not parted from your Lo^p: without using all endeavours to have givin all reasonable satisfaction; and now, though I will not justify what did escape me, through mistake, misinformation and passion which have givin offence to your Lo^p: yet I can not betray my own iñocency so as to take with the guilt of malice and design against your Lo^ps: honour and interest which God knowes never entered into my thoughts; any tampering with Dumfreis, either as first mover, consenter, or abettor, I doe disclaim as a

most malicious calumny, and for my guiltlesnes therein I have appealed to the E. of Rothe's his honour and conscience;* I think I should not be judged so foolish and unwary as to have entered into a plott with the E. of Dumfreis in a matter of that concern, for your Lo^p: knowes y^t his tongue is not at all times and in all cases judged to be slander; moreover I can in much sincerity profess it, y^t your Lo^{ps}: standing and prosperity is as contenting and dear to me as to any who honour and wish well to you, and I think I should be beleevd seeng by envying of it, or cooperating to the diminution of your greatnes, I cannot propose to myself any advantage, and if any design against it should take effect, I shall be sure to gain as litle by it as my brother William, whom your Lop: are pleasit to own as your honest and faythfull servant; I shall yet more presume upon your Lo^{ps} patience by saying y^t as I doe lament that unhappie breach betwixt your Lo^p: and me, which I beleieve mistake and false suggestions have caused, so I am most desirous and it would be very acceptable to me to find y^t I am restored to and rightly stated in your Lo^{ps} good opinion and freindship, which (seeng I am assured of the sincerity of your Lo^{ps} professed kyndnes and concernment for the ecclesiastick government as now settled) shall be preserved on my part with all inviolable fidelity & devotion for your service; and this my desire and ingagement I make to your Lo^p: not only from the sense of gratitude I owe and the affection and value I shall pay to your person and worth, but from the conviction I have of the absolut necessity for my encouragement and furtherance in the office I am placed in, that I have a good correspondence with your Lo^p: who I trust will employ your great abilities and interest in this tym of need for the honour of our most gracious King and the good and right settlement of the Church and kingdom in subserviency to which I begg you would give beleeft to the sincere professions of,

May it please your Lo^p:

Your most humble and dutifull servant,

ST. ANDREWS.

27 Jul. '67.

* Dumfries asserted the opposite in good round terms.

XXII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 187.]

Edr, 8 Aug. '67.

Of all vitriols,* the white is best for the eyes when you go a starr shooting. It makes hid things visible, and leaves the ground still undiscoloried.

I wyrie with S. S. in desiring you to deal gently with the auteur des belles lettres.^b Certainly you are not to learn to know him. You told me formerly you had said upon an occasion you knew how to make use of a knave as well as another; and I think, since you see his cap stands even enough, and that hee is otherwise detaché, & may certainly be made very good use of, it should now be done. Our way with him is frank enough but not intimate, and hee cries up sober people, and hee being sufficiently hiewed [?] is much more calme and tractable than could well have been expected. To this ad that his companion, being vehement & not drawing as hee does, he is the more apt to understand gentle and discreet things. Therefor I would fain have you to pass over any foolish or false thing, was in his letter in such a way as hee may not by your nipping of him suspect our ingenuity when wee use him with a fair & civil freedom that looks not back nor quarrells, knowing, as hee does, you & wee are not severall things. This is all I shall say of this subject.

Wee have this day altered the methode of paying the old troopes & companies, w^{ch} was such a one as since Cesars dayes was never practised in Europe, Africa, nor Asia. It was in a word this: The whole 2 troops, and 6 old foot companies at the beginning of every quarter used constantly to get assignements upon selected shires for three moneths pay to come. So that they were alwise so far from being in arriere that they were still payed a full quarter of a year by advance. Je vous laisse a penser what for a way this was. The

* In an MS. letter of Moray to Kincardine, not included in the Lauderdale Papers, he gives a recipe for making this "vitriol."

^b James Sharp. See page 28.

fitness of changing it was so represented to the officers that they acquiesced easily, being assured of good pay monethly as their pay falls due. The next time you converse with the stars you will get the gleanings of our discoveries. Adieu.

XXIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 191].

Yester, 9 Agust, 1667.

Beeing to part out of toune I was yesterday uith the Primate, who does expres a great satisfactiōe with uhat is down, & in prospect he doth earnestly desir the disbanding of the forces, exprissing great jelousie of them and uillingness to cooperat in his statione to the settling of the minds of peopel by all means possible even to the enlarging the prisoners of the castel uhom he supposith may be useful and instrumental therin, naming particularly Sesnock.* And that som persons in each of the uest country shyrs may bind for the pac, & that according to the last letter the commons that uer in the lait rebellione may be brought of uithout taking the declaratione, sinc it is to be suposid they can nether read nor uritt, which uas his mind also in the councel uhen it was read. And he apears fixid in all courses of lenity & gentilenes at present, this beeing a great crisis: bot that heirafter a solid and steady cours may be held & wssed w^t all disorderly peopel: In fyne I most tell you he hes bein most usful at this time and uithout his presenc the inferiour clergy had flouen out to impertinencys & thought the Archbishope be hight & seams to crow over him, apprehending himself better statid at court, yit the other rewls the church absolutly heir; he hes promised to come over upon advertisement from his brother of the

* Sir Hugh Campbell of Cesnock, James Dunlop, and James Holburn of Menstry were imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1665.—See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 99.

longd for news,* & again I pray you give him noe discouragement,
 & be assurid ue shal kip to the rewls which MR uritts of uith him,
 bot if you kip at stuffs deid [?] all is to noe purpose ue doe, nor uill
 he thinke himself secure & saff say uhat ue will * * *

* * * * *

XXIV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
 LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 203.]

Yester, 15 Agust, 1667.

It is also our opinone that a Militia be furthwith namid after the
 disbanding uherein all the nobility may be imployid, beeing fitter
 for it then troupes. And that arms be sent hom for the country to
 buy, and that the king have a magazin of his ouen besids. I uold
 have MR general of this militia, unles yow think fitt he be a Reserve
 in case the chancclour should ueary of his imploy,^b bot sinc both
 gounes & suord cannot be uorne by one as the King finds them
 qwalifyd hee may choose heirafter for ether. MR is displeasid uith
 this Rallery, bot I am in good earnest.

Yow have heir the establishment of 3 troupes & 10 companys of
 foot, as is earnestly desird, for mor doth rather debawch them, &
 this is sufficient & uill pleas them uel enought.

* The taking of the Commissionership from Rothes.

^b Tweeddale elsewhere declares that Moray would make a "non-such chancclour."

XXV.--23127, f. 205. Yester, August 16, 1667. TWEED-DALE to LAUDERDALE. The General Dyel is talking everywhere of the danger of another rising, but can give no reason for his fears.

XXVI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23127, f. 207.]

Yester, 16 Aug. '67.

Just now I lay by your house to answer your letter; had it not told me you were to send the dispatches for disbanding & paying by your next, I think I had been to-morrow at Hamilton, now it will be the end of next week before I be there. I must say I wish you could have come hither so soon as to have been back against Michaelmess. But since it seemes resolved you stirr not till that time, pray by all meanes fail not to come then. That resolution of L. Bell,^a I assure you hee spoke of to my self at least 3 years ago, as I remember when his stock was but half so great as they say now it is. Hee then spoke of a sum that, to tell you truly, I could not think hee had then at commaund, but rather much of it in prospect; and his resolution then was so fixt that I could have undertaken hee would not change it.

In one of my former I said all I thought needed of the primate's letter. The short is, I think it not amiss you keep so cold with him that he may not swell again. But it is certainly fit wee have a frankness with him that may make him usefull, as indeed hee is, and may be more to the King's service & the adjusting things here. For, as SS. will have said to you, hee is already more for lenity & softness then wee: and holds the balance even, else his next neighbour,^b who is yet more unwise then ever, would preponderate. Be-

^a Probably of resigning.

^b Archbishop of Glasgow.

cause I have nothing to say to the A. of Cant. of publick matters as yet that may relish better then the acts were sent you, I forbear writing again to him, but I intend it however within a while. I did it not with those acts, because I knew they are not the most desired. This is all yours gives me cause to say, and nought else occurs.

Adieu.

The business of the pensions must stay yet awhile. Now to Lathington again.

XXVII.—23127, f. 215. Yester, 20 August, 1667. TWEED-DALE TO LAUDERDALE. Believes the last rebellion had a design, although it is generally believed that the soldiers' bad usage of the country occasioned it, and rendered the people desperate. Forces must be maintained in the west, for "*semel malus semper presumitur malus eodem genere mali.*"

XXVIII.—23127, f. 234. Yester, 27 August, 1667. TWEED-DALE TO LAUDERDALE. The Council want Hamilton's troop maintained; states various reasons against it, especially the fear of the government "*verging to military.*" In any case it is safer that the commands should be in meaner men's hands. "We wonder that the arms come not, and for God's sake hast the orders about the militia, for all the country looks for it." Robert Moray has gone to Hamilton.

XXIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[Concerned chiefly with the temporary alliance of Rothes and Hamilton.

See especially page 39.]

[23127, ff. 236-239.]

Hamilton, 29 Aug. '67.

I finde there is upon the account of the fellowship of Simeon & Levi^a a friendship as strongly cemented between Cō^r^b and Hāⁿ as such grounds can ty unvertuous men; and that there is to be said things as to moralls as far beyond what you have heard or can imagine as that was beyond your expectation. Some of them are not to be thought of but with utmost horror, and so cannot well be told, for the most vertuous, who are the most fit to hear anything can be said, should be the last that should be told things that would trouble them most; and others of them are such as one highly vertuous & discreet friend may tell another, but ought to go no further. Hereafter, possibly by astronomicall meanes,^c your eyes may informe you of some of them, or if not that, your ears. I shall now onely tell you, they are things against Heaven and all highest dueties on earth. As to politickes a measure of that union is, that either the personall credit the Cōm^r hath at Court, and arguments hee can use at meeting there with the K. & E. Laud., will prevail to keep power where it is now lodged, and then they are still on the foremost horse; or if they be outed of that now, as to some degrees, yet there will enough remain to enable them to discompose all that is done contrary to their interests and desires, so much evidence as they shall be thrown out with disgrace as authors of mad courses, and then they themselves must needs remonter leur beste, and come in play again, without fear of further disturbance or competitors. And upon this account many things are let go with great smoothness in the Council & Cōm^r of the Thes. that else would meet with other gates bussling [?].

^a Genesis xxxiv. 25.

^b Rothes, at least, was a notoriously immoral man. As to Hamilton, see later in this letter where Moray lays his corruption to Rothes' evil influence and his habits of drinking.

^c *i.e.*, sympathetic ink. Cf. "stargazing," in other letters.

30 Aug. Yesterday the Commiss^{rs} of this shire met, and ordered the Heritors to meet on Thursday next, according to the council's lettr. Those I have spoke with think the money that is desired will be had, I do what I can to ascertain it. I have also heard more than once severall gentlemen in company contradict the D. to his face highly, as to what hee said last week in a place yow know. And others of great note hereaway, as L. Lee, his eldest son, St. Dan. Carmichel, and others together, have confirmed to me before my wives^a what the others had said. I have further been assured by them that if what was sent up in the note came within my last from Edinb. were prosecuted past difficulty, the country would be kept in quyet without any military force at all, a part of the country gentlemen being able to answer for it. As to Conventicles, there needs nothing be said in particular but that the execution of the lawes will occurre to that, but so the declaration be not urged none other objections will remain. So that, let designing people talk what they please, there is no fear of this country when the forces shall be disbanded, and if there be need, notwithstanding of what is said, some of the horse and foot kept up will make up all. This now is the plain & easy way of doing what is necessary; and if it be in nobodies power but the Councils to order matters here by his M^{ties} authority, nothing can disturb the peace, unless the maior part of it be in the fault. Indeed it is one of the grounds y^t makes these iocund in their symposiacks who would have things turned to the former channell, that they can outvote those who are for disbanding, &c. in the council as they have practised lately in concernes of E. Argyle. But besides that they will in all probability be mistaken in regarde many are of another mind in the concernes of the country that vote their way in other things. The King can help that when he pleases more wayes than one.

Our wife hath been told that the Archb. of Cant., at the instiga-

^a I imagine this to refer to the Duchess of Hamilton and her sister, Lady Susan. In other passages I think Lady Margaret Kennedy is meant, from comparison with her letters as published by the Bannatyne Club; but I am not clear on the point.

tion of Archb. of Glas. hath spoke twice to the King for parting her from my other wife ; and that at first the King gave him no answer, & at last told him hee could not do so ungentlemanly a thing as to part two innocent ladies ; know what was of it. I have made them both laugh at what W. Drum. said of our wife at Court.

I forgot one remarkeable passage that past between Carmichel & the Duke at the conference I mentioned in my last. When the Duke had said to him the gentlemen of the shire would not all be of his minde at their meeting, the other said they would unless hee prepossest them, and though this pretty piquant language, & the Duke blusht at it, yet there follow no choler upon it.

One thing you must do my other wife right in at my utmost perill. Shee hath been told that, her name having been made mention of to the King with disadvantage as to the settlement of the Church, I think, by the Archb. of Glas., the King should have said he knew her principles were naught. First, I do undertake her heart is as loyall as yours or mine, and then that as to ecclesiasticall matters her principles are the very same with ours,^a and I think the King is well pleased with both of us as to both these matters. I assure you she takes it deadly ill to be thought to favor courses that displease him, or to be averse to what he commaunds, and that shee doth in all things comply with ecclesiasticall persones and things as becomes her.

This I say after inquisition, though I would have done it if required before I spoke with her, so well do I know her genius and wayes. And for other things you will know as well as I there is not more nobleness nor vertue in any breast than in hers. I have yet to add that it is bragd that all is done of late here will be reversed if the Duke, the clergy there, the Duke of Albemarle & others, have any credit with the King. By this you may inferr to whom adresses are made.

Though S. S. thinkes T. Dal. might do some good here as to

^a For these views well expressed, see Kincardine's letter to Sharp, vol. i. of the Lauderdale Papers, pp. 229, 230.

making the Captaines of foot pay their sogers what is due to them. But I lay no weight upon that, and therefore send him his letter. Onely be sure to finde, if you can, the bottom of his stomach before he speak with the King, and then you can put the hasp on the barndore. His behaviour the other day in Council gave us a great assurance of what he would have said there if he had come in time, and indeed of what he is lyke to say come when hee will. But you know the man, his reach, his interests, and all his byasses. And by his calling the order Yours, you know by what rule he takes his measures. D. Hamilton takes his going up to be forbid by the order that came for stopping the generall officers, though he be not directly spoke of, so he is not lyke to come yet awhile; but it seemes he intends to go when E. Rothes does, for so I am told from authentick hands. But as to the settling of his estate it is no pretence but a reality, for since that stopping letter hee hath said to me he would have me send up his signature. He is far from speaking angrily of you, for ought I can learn, to sober people; what hee sayes to others I can not say. But to me nothing but acknowledgements of kindness & friendship from you & to you. And, indeed, I dare say, to do him right, that all his pernicious maxims and most vitious deportments are infused in him & drawn from him by the persone I coupled with him^a in the first page of this letter; for, though from lubricity I cannot vindicate him, yet from that flagitious degree of debordments that he is led into, I dare say it is the work of the divell and another hand, as well as his excessive drinking in that persones company. And here, by the way, I shall tell you, I have dehorted him and some others from drinking, with all the arguments I can devise, in pursuance of his M^{ties} commaunds, & have made it known how hatefull that vice is to the King, and the charge hee gave me in relation to it. Hee says hee will abstain, but fears to be overcome in the other's company, to whom I never spoke of that subiect as yet, though I have reason to think he knows what I have said to others.

^a Rothes.

Hetherto I have easily got the Duke to forbear to put in execution against our wife^a what I am told hee hath sworn hee will do. But I intend to-morrow to put him to it, & say all I can without naming you unless I see I must, and then I think I shall talk your language, though our wife,^a who you may be sure takes kindly what you say, would have me not name you at all. The names of the discoverers you shall have, though none other must, save one that is above all must. A great part is from W. Sharp, and the whole alone, as it was writ to you, was taken from Fordie. I need say nothing to make out to you the veracity & ingenuity of any of them. SS. will have answered your letters to him. This goes not by his hands, as my last from hence did, because it would be retarded 3 dayes. By this time you will have enough of Lethinton. At last I have done.

Adieu.

XXX.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

[23128, f. 1.]

[Lauderdale's answer to Sharp's desire for reconciliation; see page 28.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO GR.

Highgete, 2 Sept. 1667.

I did receave yo^{rs} of the 27 July, and although I may truely plead the multude of publick busines as the reason of my slow answer, yet I must, with the old freedome, tell your Gr. yo^r ouene letter^b did in a great measure occasion it, for should I exacety answer it I behoved to mak it appeare that yo^r jealousies of me were groundles, and that no action of mine gave you any ground for the expression yow used of me to the King more then once,

^a This "our wife" is clearly not the same as the "our wife" in the following sentence. Comparing this with 23128, f. 6, it seems that the first "our wife" is Lady Susan Hamilton, and the second the Duchess. I cannot make out what the matter is which is referred to.

^b See 23127, f. 166.

to my self & to others upon severall occassions. I behoved to have clered that yow could not be ignorant of the termes we parted on, and indevroed to demonstat, That I was ferre from being the cause of the distance we have been at. But upon second & better thoghts I choose rather to leave that to discowrse when it pleases God we shall meet where I hope to cleir my self, if any of that stuk with yow, and to come to that which I hope was the Intention of yo^r letter even a good understanding in the future That bygoness may be bygoness & faire play in time to come ; you may indeed be assured (as yow profess yow are) of the sincerity of my professed kindenes & concernement for the Ecclesiastick Goverment as now settled. I have noe end but the King service, his honor & greatnes, & the peace of the Church & Kingdome, with the maintenance of Episcopall goverment ; and by the Grace of God my actions shall constantly be directed to those ends. In my prosecution of them I expect yo^r freindship, I expect yo^r concurrance, and that yow will no more suffer grundles jealousies nor clatters to draw yow off till first yow have freely told me and found I cannot cleir my self. Then I am sure we shall continue good freinds, & yow shall finde me very constantly,

My Lord,

Yo^r Gr^s most humble servant,

LAUDERDALE.

XXXI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 6.]

[Moray mentions "proposals," which, with the King's leave, he intends to lay before the Council for the quieting of the country. He then goes on thus :—]

Hamilton, 2 Sep. '67.

Yesterday I had a long conference with the D. I represented to him many things concerning the motion hee lately made in Council, that tended to advising the King to keep up more troops

than his M^{ty} in his letter to them had declared he intended. I minded him that I had said some pretty sharp things in answering what he said, and told him others much more cutting that I forbore, but might & possibly would have said if I had seen it needfull: as that to offer to advise the King so, as was proposed, were to reflect highly upon him, &c., enlarging upon this to a height that made him say he would do so no more. I repeat not what I said, particularly, because you will easily see what is to be said upon that head; but will repeat hereafter if you put me to it. Hee told me informations were sent up to the Archb. of Canterbury, by whose meanes he thinkes Th. Dal hath obtained leave to go to London, & I do not disabuse him; wee beat out the bottom of the matter he pretends to have iustly irritate him against our W. And having said all I could devise to him about the ridiculousness of his offering to ressent in any such manner foolishe stories that signify nothing; how ungentlemanny a thing it is to use a lady rudely upon any pretence whatsoever, how unhandsom it is to offer to affront one that deserved so well at his hands, etc. I forgot not to lay sorely forth to him the inconvenience hee would incurre as to his reputation in the esteem of every Gentleman, yea, even of the King, to whom he having askt who would tell him, I said I would impart it, besides the loss of the friendship of friends of hers, amongst whom I first named my self, then you, and that in a strain that he saw was beyond jest. In fine, I made him promise hee would leave the matter to his lady, to whom the other he thinkes hath given cause uniustly to be jealous; and if hereafter he meet with any new provocations from her he will complain to me; what the story was were long to relate, but he does swear to me, & I believe it (having told me it was grounded on a visit hee made to a widdow, the Lady Errol, whose son holds warde of the King and him both), that it was purely to treat about the ward, he having compounded with S. W. purvais for the Kings part, this last spring. I mention this that you may note it. Now other matters. Reflecting upon what particular errands T. Dalyell may have, I

presume he may press the King to dispose of the forfeited estates. I would not preclude the Kings bounty ; but if his M^{ty} will be pleased to delay that till all be surveyed according to the instruction given to the Com^{rs} of the Th^{re}, which they could not put in execution before the persones were forfeited, but intend at their next meeting, his M^{ty} will then know what he gives, & by that time may more clearly see what is fittest for him to do as to those forfeited estates. But if his M^{ty} think fit to dispose of them presently, then possibly he may be pleased to appoint somewhat for wives and widdowes, and oblige those to whom hee gives any forfeited lands to live upon them, the better to secure the peace & procure obedience to the lawes in all points relating to church or state.

XXXII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 8.]

Hamilton, 3 Sep 67.

The Dean of Glasgow, Ramsey, whom you know hath talkd to me freely, and after much other discourse, told me that this being the shire in Scotland that is most necessary to be secured if the Dukes Troop were kept up, it would be out of all danger. I onely tell you this that you may see what is aimed at, though possibly the motion is not known to the Duke, who yet, I think, hath the same thought: the dean tells me his aversion to the pressing of the declaration, and that hee himself would not take it. He is also for not putting out Mr. William Adair, and I intend to tell the Archb. so when I see him. A thing I think of advantage to the Kings service & quyet of the parts where he resides, but intend not to appear in it, but as it were en passant, & the man being an able man & sticking onely at the coming to presbyteries & synodes, a thing dis-

pensed with by the Archb. to 3 or 4 others about Air, where he is minister. I intend to try if proceeding against him (for which there is but small ground, as I am informed, and you may know hereafter) may be delayed till I try if I can persuade him to travelur le pas, for I knew him long ago, & hear he is a sober man, & already out of the good opinion of the fanatically disposed people as being almost come over to the full length of compliance with episcopacy, his loyalty being little doubted. This is all occurs now, but my next will have more, and possibly some starlight stories.

Adieu.

XXXIII.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 14.]

MY DEAR LORD,

Sep. the 7.

Yours of the Last of Aug. I have reseved consarning the chansl. and I ueatid ffor it uith great impasinsie. I du not enou hou it relishis in ingland, bot there is non hear that I have spokk with bot rejoaysis at it and all conclouds it uill meack a great chang in the gufferment of affears,^a god bless our dear mastier and dereckt him. I am reelie verie ueall satisfayied uith my Lord Midiltuns visiting you,^b bot had I bin in his ples I wold have chosin an other taym for it, and I thinck I cnou you so ueall as to belliff you ar of my opinione; you satisfay me extremlie uith the ashurins you giff me of the continuans of your frindship for dallyell and droumont; thay uill aluays apruff them self feathful servant to the King and hanest and trustie friends I am shour bothe to you and me. Nou to end uith my selff. I most thanck you for your great cear of my particular, and I am very gled you have so good houp to put it to a clos so sun. On Munday I go to Ed., wher you shall agan hear from me, so my dear Lord, Adieu.

^a The fall of Clarendon naturally strengthened the hands of those who were trying a toleration policy.

^b A reconciliation took place now between Lauderdale and Middleton. See Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 49.

XXXIV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 16].

Edenbraght, 7 Septemb. '67.

Yesterday I sett forth early, and was heir by two a cloak in the afternoun, and found yours of the 29 and last of Agust, which pleasid me exceedingly till I came to the wacatting of the great comissione, which thought the King be fixed in, you say he Inclins to do it himself ther, & that his commiss: [cease] immediatly after disbanding which yow uold not opose as most for your eas. This was to me lik the spoonful that spoils the pote. That comissione hath not only brought matters to the pas the uer at bot was the great obstructione to any prospect of our conditione how desperat so ever & hes stood in the way of all attempts whatsoever of Recovery, & at this hour does mor then ever. Pray you consider when the army is disbanded that all is not down, but rather what is furder requisite for securing the pac is mor nesescary to be effectually gon about & admitts noe delay. A stope to this puts a stope to the prosecuting of any thing for securty, & all matters most be at a dangerous stand till his returne, for he uill suffer nothing to be down befor he goes in hope to returne as he uent: and our reputatiōe shal be broke with the country, uho look on uhat is down as the beginng of a delayverance from violenc & opressione, & have soe cheerfully adwancid & ar adwancing mor money then they ar able towards it, & offering all security imaginable for the pac, bee- ing confident that the quiet is realy meant & desinged by you & som heir & that his Ma^t having got a trew prospect of the conditione of his affairs in this country gives a check to thos violent proceed- ings hes occasiond the lait rebellious & was the caws of soe great discontent. For God sak lett us bot have a tryall of securing the pac and quet of the country uithout a commissioner, having a chan- clour, & the old way of government as sinc the chancclours death

& befor ue had a comissioner. And lett not all our hops be shipwruckt in the harbour, For I declair to you ue can not ansuer for the pac and hair [?] after my lord comsioner is gon in that qwality to England, for sober men will be soe amazed & filld w^t jelouse and the generality will recurr to ther discontent, & it uill be increased by the disbanded souldiery, uich for ought ue know may contribute to some disorder, & to be chargid on thos uho advisid disbanding, therfor I say ue can not undertak, & I shal be loath to be long after him heir, thought I confes it uill be as unpleasant a journey as ever I mead, for thought I shal sie thos I love, soe much disquiet uold mak our covers uncomfortable, bot waccat that, & when ever you think fitt I leave this plac I shal com or wait on my Lord Chancclour uhen ever he goes.

The last chang at court doth not a littel contribute to the quiet if the other heir uer also wacated, most looking on that great man as this countrys smal frind as in the matter of trade, and wold have been in the umore (?) or any thing tending that way. The obstructione removid I trust the uork uill be easy & may be cheerfully gon about. I intend to writt to S^r Thomas Clifford about our trade, bot I shal send it w^t a fleeing seal to you.

I know not w^t constructione my lord. Comsier uill put on my lord Mideltones visit, bot som begin to say he rejectid his frindship, & now the provost hes mead a perfit on between yow. The person told me first of that desing uhen I uent to London last mead this observe, I ansid this wisit Importid noe mor then E. Middletones, uhen heir to the Abay, w^t this difference, he seeks your frindshipec & thers was treatid of by conditions, bot I say garde bein how yow trust ether, soe dr. Br. Adiew.

XXXV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23128, ff. 18, 20.]

Edinb. 7 Sep. '67.

SS. hath shewn me what hee hath said on the subiect that is of greater import than anything else that concerns the King's service, the good of the country & those here who studdy them most. I shall say somewhat of it too. I confess I was not a litle affected with what you say of it. But I do much please myself with a beleef that you will [*have*] reflected so upon it yourself since you wrote that you will have endeavored to get an end put the great Coñ^a before he that hath it stirr from hence. Yet, lest the thing be not yet done, I must observe to you some things that may be of weight to procure the doing of it not touched by SS. You say onely *the King inclines* to have it done there. Since it is no more but an Inclination hee hath to it, you may handsomly apply yourself to persuading what is desired: sure it will be much *easier* for the King to do the thing while the persone is absent. I beleeeve you think the persone hath no minde to part with it, and, though perhaps hee will not iust say it is fit or necessary to keep him still in that employment, hee will leave nothing unsaid & undone that may evince it by consequence himself & will do his best to have others say it directly.

For you will finde him say & swear things as not onely true but of his own knowledge, &c., that though they be not as hee sayes, none there can contradict, but as being otherwise informed, and what his submissions & insinuations may do, & his airs in conversing with the King and others may produce, you can easily iudge who know him as well as any of us. Then you know it is not easy for the King to say bleak things, even though there may be sweetening prefaces made to them. Sure it must be easier for his M^y to write a letter to him for that effect than to speak it: and I presume you had rather doe so too. For if the King do it not

himself, it will surely fall to your share, and will you reckon that so very easy for you? If the thing be not done ere he part, you know with what kindness & blandishments hee will accost you, &c.,^a & will not that render it somewhat uneasy to you to have the thing done there, that will certainly cut him very deep? By all this (which I think is enough) you will, I think, find that you may attempt what is desired & was still without hesitation hoped here would certainly be done. And now that it is necessary it be done, I shall onely suggest a word or two more than SS. hath done. I said to you in one of my former, hee talks now highly & doubts not to get all things turned to his minde or to this effect. The venting of this among those that desire it will spread it every where, & how that will disioint all wee propose for the settlement of the country I leave you to iudge. But add to this the litle power wee will have to carry any thing wee propose, & the art & unseen wayes he will use to cross & defeat all, yea & authority to rather than fail, & what think yow will be effected? Then the very disappointment the not doing of the thing before hee part will bring to those who are in expectation of sober courses & well disposed for them will certainly highly discompose them, every body being at a stand what to expect, whereas at present the steps already made towards a fair composure of things doth not onely highly satisfy all sober people, but renders the peace of the country most hopeful in all points. And the very delay of voiding the Cofin^a after the peace is proclaimed and the forces disbanded will strike peoples mindes with apprehensions that must needs be of bad consequences, as well to the settlement of the country, as to the reputation of those that endeavour it, & have not been unsuccessfull hitherto.

By all this I do not so much pretend to convince you of the fitness, or rather necessity, the thing be done that is desired, as that the reading of this will set your own thoughts on work, & then I do not at all doubt but you, upon your own further reasonings, will be so full of the thing that you will with your utmost vigor go

^a Burnet speaks of his "soft and insinuating address," section 102.

about it. For though wee be very full of it, yet many things more will certainly occurre to you than either of us sayes. I shall now further tell you I have got so very full satisfaction as to the settlement of Cliddesdale, that if this matter do not obstruct the going about it, even though the King allow me to make these overtures I formerly proposed, I am fully persuaded, & so is S.S., that every thing will happily succeed. But this Remora, to tell you freely, strikes at the root of our courage & confidence. And if the Com^r do but imagine his Com^a will stand till hee see the King, at the next meeting of the Council wee may certainly expect at least demurres to what ever shall offer, if not proposalls of another strain, all which hee will doubtless have the confidence to think he will *faire valoir* when hee speakes with the King.

The satisfaction I got in Cliddesdale was such that I have already drawn up the heads of the proposalls^a to be made, if I be allowed to make them by y^e King, and you should have by this poste if S.S. and I had once fully debated and concluded every point between us, which Godwilling we will have done to send by the next; but if the allowance I desired come not before thursday next, the Council day, nothing can be done in it till the next Council day in Octob. & that may be inconvenient, if not very hurtfull.

From W. Sharp you will have stories of the pretty bussle the Archb. of Glasc. makes, wherein if you do not observe the hand of Joab yow will at least see how litle the King's choyce of persons to serve him is trusted & applauded, and withall what a master Creste de Coq his Gr. may in good time prove. But I take some part of his designe to be to see if hee can persuade the Archb. of St. Andr. to confirme what hee, I presume, hath suggested to the Archb. of Cant. And if it come to pass that I be allowed to make those overtures in Council that I spoke of, then it will be found that upon his opposing & making difficulties that I did not amiss in forewarning the King that possibly I might upon occasion differ in opinion from Bishops, & yet not be in the wrong. For I do assure you, & you

^a See page 52.

may say so to the King, that what wee do propose is the sure way to settle & secure Episcopacy, which the courses hetherto taken have been so far from establishing that they had almost unhinged the State. Such shippers do sowters prove upon occasion.^a I must now tell you that in a conference with the Archb. of Glasc. hee complained that amongst those cited for being in the late rebellion there were 2 of the vassalls of the Sea of Glasc. left out who were in armes. And that, there being no glebe left to the Archbishop, nor so much grass as to feed a cow or a sheep, that if the King did not bestow their forfeitures, which might amount to some 8 or 900 mark, hee would willingly buy it & dedicate it to the Sea. I said the motion might be heard; & when I put him to say what he would give for it, he said 4 years' purchase, at which I smiled, and so that conversation endid, but I repeat not all the words that past. Other discourse wee had a great deal that would be long and useless to write, onely when I askt if he would keep the Council Day, he told me his daughter is to be married next week (and the day is Tuesday), insinuating I might think he could not keep it, but doubtless hee will if his health allow it. Other matters follow. From Ham I told you many stories, but reserved some for starlight, w^{ch} now, not to lose time, I venture to say thus: I learnt that L. A. G.^b used to open the goodman of Ballangights^c letters sometimes before he to whom they were directed saw them, and divulge what was in them. And had a pretty frolick related to me of the Coñr & his nephew.^d * * * * Qu'il estoit extremement surpris de mon arriver, et de ce que j'ai apporté comme estant le premier degré de sa decadence et mesme sa ruine. Et l'on m'a dit, ce que je n'affirme pourtant pas encor, qu'il avoit part dans les coustumes mesmes.

^a Cf. the proverb "Souters (cobblers) should not be sailors."

^b I cannot tell who is meant.

^c The "Gudeman of Ballangeich" was the name given to James V.; presumably here it means Charles II.

^d Dirty and uninteresting.

XXXVI.—WILLIAM SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 22.]

My friend ^a by his letter to me from Fife of the 2 wreats that upon weedins days night before he was surprised to find by a letter which came to hand without date from his brother in the west that he wes stronglie apprehensive of a design layed for the suppression of their order, and that in a short tyme by a method which seemed to my friend verie strange, as at meeting he would tell me, and did so press the calling of his brethren togither that he could not avoyd to wreat to Dunkell Abd Brechen & Murray to meet here on the 10th. They were moderat men, and if there appeared to be any thing designed by this and not discovered, any other intentions should not be gratified. And if wayes be made effectuall by these in authoritie here for quyeting the countrey, so as to satisfie sober men & stop the clamouring of others and therby give a check to the contryvments of the malcontented, he will undertake for the clergie, & that they complye with what is for his Maj. service & their securitie. And with his wreating to his brethren he acquainted him in the west, who sayes his fears of suppressing are not so great as his enemies hopes, bot it is designed they should be renderd useles & insignificant, which to him wes wors then the other, he thinks is not questioned by any of either pairtie. Somewhat of this I thought needfull to let fall to friends here, & they that my m^r should know it from me, it is res scripta. What more occurs shall be sygnified, it is to my m^r onelie, that it may not any way be noticed, anything of this is from

7 Sep. [16]67.

The change of the staff^b manet alta mente repostum, he would bear of yow, bot of the 2 that hes got his see, what^r he will not, so be on good sure guard.

^a Meaning his brother, James Sharp.^b The placing the Treasury in commission.

XXXVIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 27].

Edenbrught, 14 Septemb. '67.

I have not bein 5 hours a bed any night this ueek nor from public meetings from nein a cloak in the morning till 10 at night save at dinner; uhat is done in obedienc to his Ma^{ties} letter to the commissioners of the treasury I reffer to our letter, and a report of uhat was doun at councel to S^r Rob: Murray, uhat is furder shal be suplyd at larg nixt pakquet, only heir is the sederunt of councel, with the I. in the first colum & nees in the second, yow uill find that none of them have singd the paper. I heird my Lord comissioner say it was not his custome to singe papers with the councel, soe all the dissenters refusid and only lithkow that was absent, & as he says indisposd, singid it this morning: Glaskow said his heart was not at it, And his hand should not be at it, & Dundee wished his fingers in breetch uhen he singd it; the Lewtenant Gen: yow see was better natured:^a Noe man behavid better then Montros, and was advertisd by Argyle to com to this diet of concel though himself could not; of S^r Simon^b I shal only say uith folowing M.R. proposals he hes lost all the gracis heir save one, it falling to his shayr for most part to ansuer two of them especialy, uho never uas I think soe put to it in all his life, and I belive may give it over, for all could be doun was indeawourd: bot uithall lett me tel yow such a stres of debait I have not sein in that plac; som of us swat for it.

Uhen the paper was to be singd the clerk askid my lord comis. if a qworum was enought; he said they uer, bot he was told afterw^a that sinc som refusid it was fitt all the persons that uold subscribe it should. And this morning the Arch: St. meeting uith general

^a Robert Moray says in another letter of him: "W. Dr. did lyke a privy cancellor, signed, though he voted against every particular."

^b i.e. the writer, Tweeddale.

Diel he said to him, uhensoever the bishops ar stond yow deserve to be the first. By this Pakquet ther comes a copie of letter from Will Sharp worth your observing, & by the nixt yow uill gett on your self from all the Bishops.^a And ther uill com on to the Arch: B: Canterbury for company of it. The 2 Arch: B: and one mor beeing uith me have given such ane interuptione to uritting that I can say noe mor, but D: Br. Adiew.

For your self.

XXXIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[Account of the debates on the proposals.]

[23128, f. 30.]

Ed'. 14 Sep. '67.

Never so much to say as now; could wee write all wee would it would take up more quires of paper than one; wee now cast ourselves loos, leaving ourselves the liberty to say each of us all wee can of everything, though it should fall out wee both say the same things, onely I leave what concerns the Bpps. entirely to S. S. These 2 dayes have given us our hands full. And nobody here remembers ever to have seen such debates in council as were yesterday, so sharp things said without any expression that could be laid hold of as a reflection, though perhaps the matter bore it, as you will observe by what I mean to say, onely A. B. Gl. made a ridiculous crie upon M. R.,^b which was payed without a reply, &c., yet in language that bore no resentment. On Thursday you had from S. S. some hints of what had past that day in council. I, for all that, will begin there what I intend to say of council matters. The first thing done, when the council met in the morning, was the reading of what you wrote to Sr Peter, that occasioned the reading of the originall letter, and upon that, after some litle

^a See p. 59.

^b The writer.

debate, the business of taking course with the Commons was committed to the Archb. of S., the D. of Ham., Marq. of Montr., &c., to the number of 15, whose names if not now yow will have by the next, the Archb. in the chair. The propositions I had made by mouth in Council I put in writing in the Room, & they being read in the Committe swelled by inches into the very words of the paper to be transmitted from the Council to the King, all which, except onely the last article which was added, past in Council in terminis, though the materiall passages were with utmost rigour canvassed in Coñcil, as they had been before in the Committe.

The first thing carpt at was the words *Excepting those that are forefeited & under process.*^a It was vehemently urged the exception might be extended to all landed men guilty, though not yet under process nor cited. What was said, *pro & con*, were long to repeat fully, but the point was prest from the Kings first letter that enjoined the prosecuting of all landed men, &c., strictly, the iustice & fitness of the thing; the eminency of their condition & their guilt, and the words of the letter that spoke of *All the Commons*, & your last that expounded the mysterious word *All*. In sum, to this was answered, as often as it was repeated, both in Council & Committe, that the words of the second letter being, *excepting all landed men & such others as are under process*, grammatically nor rationally, it could signify nothing else but All landed men that are under process & such others as are under process, &c. That the King nor the Earle of Laud. had no reason to imagine that after so positive & strict coñmand to the Council that all landed men should be processed, after the issuing of a proclamation, wherein (as was affirmed by the Advocate & others) after an exact enquiry into the names of guilty landed men & citation, &c., used so long ago, nobody could imagine any should be left out, &c. There was no cause to think the words could be otherwise meant than they bear gramattically. That E. Laud. who had said in his letter to S. P. hee was sorry he was so unlucky, &c., would be much more

^a See p. 52. i.

so to finde he is so often so, and in matter of that moment ; That when, after all the emphaticall exagerations of guilt, &c., being put to it, they who prest new processes to be intended could not name any one of those guilty persones ; how ridiculous & unseasonable it would be to mention any such thing to the King, especially it not having been alledged that any one of those landed men intended is the King's Tennent or fewer, &c. &c. (to be short, & pass many other weighty things said), in the last place, when it was (after diverse pressing, words that imported the councils incurring blame), it was askt, what should be answered if the King should ask how it comes to pass that those persones so eminently guilty, &c. should never have been lookt after all this while and never so much as mentioned till propositions were made for settling the peace, &c. no creature offered to reply. In end the clause in the Committe being put to the vote had 12 affirmatives & 3 negatives (the D. & his 2 brothers in law).^a In the Council 15 aff. & 10 neg. whose names you will see from S.S. and you will make notes from them. The next censure fell upon the words *keeping of the peace*. Many things were said against them that signified nothing with vigour & at the Com. & repeated with as insignificant additions in Council that need not be told you, after hee whom you call M. R. had said somewhat of intelligableness of them & was smilingly taken up by A. B. of Gl. Amongst other things hee replied that it was as easy to be understood as that A. signified A., & B. B. So that hee that did not understand it might be put back to his horn-book. At last all the nonsensicall objections being exploded, upon the vote the words were appointed to stand, by a greater number of votes than the others were. After these two debates, which took up houres at both times, the third, which was about the second article as it now stands were off with less debate, though many things were said as to the usefullness, the fitness, the effects, &c. of it. But when wee came to that of the Declaratione, for that about the placing of the forces was waved as fit indeed inevitably (Nota Bene) to be left to the Cofinr, as that of the militia was to the King,

^a Annandale and Queensberry.

there all the utmost force of argument & rhetorick was displayed both times, but with the same success as before. Onely though both nights it was late ere wee parted, the first night every body sate it out, but the last so many slipt out that the vote ran great risk. For when on both sides the thing had been canvassed ad nauseam, and things had been said that obliged (and with our approbation) the A. B. of S. to leave us, which he had never done before, to strike all dead the Com^r flew upon it with that lyfe & to say truth, strength of eloquence, that one would have thought it gone. But the votes being taken, and the clark having declared it was carried in the negative, it was affirmed by one of the members that reckoned them,* the affirmative carried. The votes were repeated and again the clark declared the negative was most numerous, & the same member again affirmed the contrary, the affirmative having carried by one both times, at last being voted the third time the clark stood still for the negative, though the contrary being still affirmed as having carried by no less than two votes till his man (who onely markes as I think you do now) corrected both himself and his master and then the controversy ended. One note more is that my L. Lee's vote was not called for till hee minded the clark of it himself. Now make all your own reflections.

The article that was second in my paper was easily laid aside in the Committe after some debate, the designe of it being to be properly enough brought in into the ordering the settlement of the militia, of which, if not by this, by the next you will get our thoughts. The prisoners were left out iustly & the going to church consultedly.

After dinner.

A hurry renders it impossible for me, & I think for S. S. too, to say any considerable part of what I have to add. It may indeed take up more poste days than 2 or 3, but by the next I think you shall have the most important & pressing things wee have at present in view. Meen time take things as they come by the heap while we stay for the coach that is to cary us to Yester. Wee have

* Robert Moray himself. See p. 63.

many things to impart concerning the militia. The next Council day is the 8. of Octob. Before that time wee make no manner of question all comissions of state & military concerne will be vacated. *Also wee do not yet know what ground wee stand upon*, the military ones in regarde of pay and the other in respect of, not onely other businesses, but the very settlement of the peace. For though it be not at all difficult to put in execution what was recommended for placing of forces in fit places in the west, there is nothing lyke to be done of it in haste, as not being under the compass of advyce. Want of money needs not be pretended, though wee are more than credibly informed, for some things consist in our knowledge, that the backwardness of some shires to bring in their 4 moneths cess hath not been accidentall (interrupted by both Archbpps* & a Bishop). It is now so very late that to be gone I must break off. My next I suspect may be longer. A Dieu.

XL.—THE SCOTCH BISHOPS TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.*

[23128, f. 32.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO^p,

Edinburgh, 16 Sept. 1667.

Wee having mett at this place for consulting what may be incumbent to us upon the juncture of affairs, for obviating and curing those evils which doe infest and threaten the Church, doe find ourselves obliged to tender to your Lo^p: our humble acknowledgment of that favour and care for the legall government of this Church yow were pleasid to express by your civilities to those of ourselves when we had occasions to wait upon yow, and your readines to assist ws in our addresses to his sacred Ma^{ty} and in the dispatches of his royall instructions and comānds from tyme to tyme in order to the settlement and quiet of this Church. Next we shall crave leave to say y^t as by the Institution of our offices and his M^{aty}s favour which

* This letter was the subject of a characteristic piece of duplicity of James Sharp. See Appendix for the letters of Sharp and Alexander Burnett, from the Sheldon MSS., bearing upon the matter. See also Scottish Review, July, 1884.

placed us in them, we are bound to direct all our actions and administrations for the glory of God, the honor and greatness of the King, the peace of Church and Kingdom, with the maintenance of Episcopall government in its authority allowed by the lawes, so we shall not doubt of your Lo^{ps} countenance of us, and concurrence in pursuance of these ends ; some of us having heard your Lop. to our great content express your judgment as to the basis and right upon which the order of Episcopacy is foundit, and all of us may know the great trust our royall master does repose in your Lops. eminent abilities and fidelity, and have been acquainted with the assurance you have laityly given of the sincerity of your professed kyndnes and concernment for the Church government as now settled by Law; in the management wherof we propose no other design but yt the clergy and people committed to our Inspection may live in the awe of the Religion professed in the conscience and practice of Loyalty to the King, obedience to his Laws, and charity and peace amongst themselves, wee make it our care in the way proper to us, to endeavour the suppressing of error, profainnes, shism and sedition, which to our great greif have gott too much ground in this kingdom; wee find our interest how wigorously soever employed insufficient to prevaile over these, without the reale assistance of the Ministers of State and justice of the kingdom : we profess ourselves servants in sincerity to all who serve the King; we sufficiently know y^t under God we have no dependance nor security but upon the favour and protection of our most gracious master, and in our own innocency and integrity in the discharge of our duties; and doe desire without any jealousy or reserve to rely and putt ourselves upon your Lo^{ps} patrociny and freindship, hoping y^t the great interest God hath given your Lo^p with the King, and in the administration of his affairs, shall have its auspicious and benign influence for the flourishing of the Church, and our encouragement in the service of it, which will inviolably ingage our duty and prayers, y^t the like sings from heaven which in all ages have been observed to attend the persons and howses of

the freinds of the Episcopall order (the known and experienced channell of conveyance and preservation of truth and power to the Christian world) may be multiplyed and ensured upon your person and noble family; wee presume yt your Lo^{ps} ends and ours are the same, and if ther happen any difference about the meanes conducing therunto, we shall not stick to our opinion, but in submission and paying all becoming deference to your Lo^{ps} great judgment and experience.

By your Lo^{ps} permission we shall moreover offer our humble sute, first for the Church and then for ourselves, That by your Lo^{ps} intercession the King may be graciously pleasit, yt after the signifying of his will about the expedients for the quiet of the kingdom upon the disbanding of the forces, the disturbers of the peace of the Church, who continue ther insolent and scandalous affronting and contempt of the Lawes, may effectually find y^t though in the method of provision for the publick quiet the peace of the State may be first taken into consideration, yet the quiet of the Church cannot saifely nor reasonably be disregardit or separated from it, seeng the attempts against the one have been found in all Christian kingdoms not to hold long without the detriment and concussion of the other; and for ourselves we humbly intreat y^t your Lo^p may not intertain mistakes of any of ws, but y^t yow would be assured y^t as we place our great releef from despondencie under the many difficulties and discouragements we meet with in your Lo^{ps} good opinion of ws, and beeng concerned for our order, so we shall by the grace of God be carefull to deserve well of your Lo^p, and yt the tenour of our actions may witness yt we are in all dutifulnes

Your Lo^{ps} most humble and obedient servants,

St. ANDREWS.

GEO. EDINBURGEN.

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

HENR: DUNKELD.

JA: GALLOBIDIEN.

PAT. BP. OF ABERDEEN.

ALEXAN: MORANIENS.

DA: BRECHINEN.

R. SODOREN.

WILL. LISMOREN.

R. DUNBLANE.

XLI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 26.]

Yester, 19 Sept. '67.

My last was abruptly finished. This will be fuller, but a Rhapsody. One thing straitens me not a litle. The Duke of H. is not as yet a very worthy nor a wise persone, & so there is litle cause to do him good. His lady I account one of the most worthy and vertuous persones that breathes, and you know wee ow kindness to the noble family. How to *neglect* the first, and befriend these is my difficulty. But the King is wise, & I must serve him. And so I must tell you the mystery of the high pleading the other day, that there should a new process of Forfeiture led against those few petty fewers in Lanerick shire that were so mightily raised to be the prime Rebels, &c. as I toucht in my last. The trueth is, & S. S. knew it then, but I not so well, though I wanted not thoughts of it, and yet. S. S. forbore discreetly to touch that string; they have lived all, or the far greatest part of them, at home; the Duke, by the Com^{rs} order (N.B.), having compounded with them for their moveables, with some for round sums, some for under 5 dollars, and one for a stick; particulars can easily be made out, if need be; & after this very manner have T. Dal. & W. Dr. done in the more western shires, & with the same warrant, by which also S. W. Bellenden hath all this time been exacting monney & bonds, driving cattle and harassing the innocent as well as the guilty, & so have the Rebels been treated with, & used, without his M^{ties} warrant or privity. If this be warranted by his M^{ties} great Commission, I have nothing to say, but if not, I take it to be the Hoodingsheaf.* Now, if these fewers and others be not forfeited, the goods, &c. taken from them, may be lyable to restitution; if they be, these goods and monney will not be restored, & the lands of the Fewers may be beg'd, and most of them are fewers of the D. of Ham. & the M. of Douglas, not one of the Crown. The Com^r indeed undertakes the moveables & rents of the rebels shall be counted

* Hooding-sheaves are the sheaves which are placed so as to shelter the shocks from the rain.

for & payed into the Thesauray, but hee does not hasten it, & it is supposed wee shall not hear of many compositions, save those of the forfeited persones, & that, with some abatement you may possibly imagine, seing my cousin, Sr Mongo, was one of the chief x collectors by warrant from T. D. Now it were meet wee should be directed by the King what to say & do, if there be brought in to the Treasury any part of those compositions taken from Rebels *not forfeited nor under process*, for which his Maiesty gave no warrant. Do in it as is best for his Maiesties service. I am deceived if it be not one *sturdy materiall*, and this is the full account of what is done as to the rebells moveables. At the next meeting of the Com^{rs} of the T., God willing, that matter shall be driven on & the survey gone about. Mean time, ad this Item to what hath been formerly said & will now be by S. S., and the rewards of services done will be the more easily measured. And here it occurs to me to tell you that I have had it from diverse hands the whigs at Pentland had not above 60 guns amongst the foot, nor 40 pair of pistolls, such as they were, amongst the horse, nor 20 lib. of loose powder, & yet it is said they fought terribly, by you know who.^a Though they slew scarce two men. And one, who is no vaunter (Coll. Lockh.), told me he would have been one of 20, would have undertaken to have routed them at Laverick. One ommission there was, last day, in not communicating to the Council the order for disbanding & course taken for it. There was no more said of it than what was hinted, *en passant*, in the preface to the proposalls for settling the peace of country, and it is perhaps worth a N. B. too. Haste, I guess, made me misremember, as S. S. tells me, how, after the clause concerning the Declar. was voted for, it was voted but twice, but the last time S. Peter did as I said formerly, again misreport the negative for the affirmative, till upon my^b assertion his man, *who onely took the votes*, rectified him. I make no further reflections on it, than that it was a criticall error.

The last article, which is for armeing, &c., was proposed by

^a See Charles Maitland's account, vol. i. p. 248.

^b See p. 58.

D. Ham. (who, by the way, speakes everlastingly, though never so much, & often baffled, & the trueth is hits frequently on all that is to be said, though not seldom overshoots, etc.), and I am clear that every candid man, heritor, & fewer that gives security for the peace as is proposed should be allowed to have armes, else how should they concurre upon occasion for suppressing of insurrections, &c.

Now, as to the forbearing to press the Declar. on those that give security as is proposed, I take it to be a greater & more important test than the taking of the Decl. was by very much. For it states the distinguishing of people on the right foundation, that is keeping the peace (or loyalty, as it is contradistinct from Ecclesiasticall considerations), which, if it once be well secured, other things are built upon it naturally, and so law, religion, &c., have their force & support as well as the King's authority & crown, with which they stand & fall, as being inseparably conioined.^a Therefore, this being first provyded for, the rest follow in their place & course, so that the engaging for keeping the peace should by all meanes be encouraged by allowing those that do it all the privileges of other good subiects, as armes & the lyke, seing they themselves become law bidding & contribute to the security of the kingdom. I need not look back to compare this course with those taken hitherto. I shall onely observe to you that which I take you to be as fully convinced of as I. The leaders have driven on too fast by very much.

By the stories you have from both you will observe one novelty, that the Com^r hath been talkt to at another rate than he used to be, and you will perhaps wonder that he should be so easy & calm. I confess I can not satisfy my self fully in any account I can offer for it. But it seemes hee either thinkes that he may get things reverst there, that disorders may rise or *be raised here*, or that I am better buckled than I let on me. Else he might have thundered me, so as at least the things offered might have been worse seconded. But indeed it may not unreasonably be presumed hee findes hee stands not altogether so safe as of late he thought he did.

^a This should be compared with Kincardine's language, vol. i. pp. 229, 230.

But indeed as to the disposing of the forces it is the most considerable power that is now in exercise, by vertue of the Grand Commission, that the Com^r disposes of them absolutely, without consulting the Council or any other body, for aught I know. And what that imports now that the other forces are disbanding you will easily iudge, were it onely for preventing of disorders that may possibly be committed by disbanded sogers in the westerne shire & fastened on others. There needs no pretence be made of want of monney to pay the forces that should march, for a moneth's pay may be had besides all laid out for paying off the rest, and SS. & T. intend to minde the Com^r of it next week. The doctrine is that *the sooner that Commission & the other generall ones be vacated the better* ; 300lb. is monethly craved and payed ; *one half moneth would do well.*

It is now to be considered as necessary how publick dues may be raised as they fall due, seing quartering for them may be requisite as formerly, and, the forces being disbanded for the greatest part, those left on foot cannot well be spared for that service. Kincardin offers an expedient that I think will do well, and is warrantable enough. That the sherifs in each shire may have power from the King to appoint 10, 12, or 20 men, as occasion requires, to be quartered by 4 or 6 at a time upon deficients as the Collectors shall appoint, being allowed each of them 8 or 10 pence a day during the time of their quartering, from the first day of their arrivall till the monney due be payed. This I think the King may either do forthwith, or recommend to the Council or Com^{rs} of the Thy. rather to advise in it. SS. will say his sense of it.

By what he sayes of Ab. Glasg., you will certainly conclude it were not amiss he had some mortification given him. If the King knew & took notice to him of his [*word illegible*] till somewhat else were done it might do well, or if in the meantime the Ab. of Cant. would do it, even that would lay his crest.

Wee are told that to this very day sogers do in the west, by order from T. D. & W. D., exact monney from people for not going to

church. The King might do well to write to the Com^r while hee hath commaund of the troops to forbear it, and so it needs not come to the Council, nor be further known than to whom the King shall think fit. *Minde this.*

As to such as shall not come in to get his M^{ties} pardon wee shall advert to it. Not doubting but, as T. Hay assures, the country will bring them in, and the robbers too.

XLII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.*

[Urges the necessity of Rothes laying down the Commissionership before going to court.]

[23138, ff. 44, 45.]

[Sep. 1667.]

* * * * *

This is to answer your desire of my opinion as to the Comm^{rs} going up. It will most certainly bred inconveniences if 2 things be not done first, which possibly you think not to put to a point till hee be there. The one that his Commission be first laid down. The other that the number of horse & foot fit to be kept up be resolved on. As to the first, if it be not laid down before hee go, hee will doubtless not want arguments for keeping up a vast power, which, though they cannot possibly have any reall weight, yet they may take with & be mannaged by such persones there as may make them prevail. And I would not have you to have such a pull as that may prove for more reasons than one. But a main end is, your being obliged to trust him, which would certainly be uneasy to you upon severall accounts. And therefore I doe positively advise, & that with the full concurrence of E. Arg. & SS. that as soon as the peace is concluded you get a commaund from the King either to advise him to lay down his commission of his own motion or to call

* Written in sympathetic ink.

for it rather than fail. And this I do inculcate with all the force our iudgement can afford it. Then, the chain being taken off that tyes all men up from complaining or talking there will come forth ane . . . wherof all you have yet heard are but eschantillons,^a and hee being brought to a regular station, droopings & fears will be removed. Therefore, as you love the good of the King's service, & your native land [*ink faded*]. And let me ad one word more to show what weight is lajd upon that, if the commission be not cancelled before hee go up, SS. is resolved to take post the next day after him. There's enough for that.^b

As to the other, if the King have not resolved upon the number and establishment of the forces, before hee go hee will apply all imaginable art & industry to have more troops kept up & great power. And hee being still the first in commaund if Generall, and in authority if onely Chancelor, and first commander on the place, will have the forces and all that are in office entirely at his devotion; the command being the onely mean left to get monney by. And what the consequence of all these will be I need not tell you, and as for the 2 generall persones for whom neither you nor I want kindness, I swear I say it not out of any [*ink faded*] by respect, but I must tell you I am of the minde of SS. and all other sober people, they are not fit to commaund here. I am unwilling to say the reasons & you can easily guess them, & I think you know them already. I think I need not prompt you with arguments to persuade the King to keep up no more troops nor foot than was at first. As having formerly had Yet some one or two I will add. If there be 4 foot companies besides garrisons with the 2 troops if there be occasion th as good by making Dragoons of the foot. And I dare boldly say, were the west yet unbroken & utterly disposed to revolte, they might be curbed with less than that number. And here let me reminde you that I have heard from more than one of the principall officers of the forces that went to rout the Rebels when they first rose, that had but two

^a Samples.

^b This advice was acted upon. See p. 71.

troops flown vigorously in amongst them immediately after their coming to Glasgow they had quite broken all ther forces. But of this more another time. I shall now onely add that I presume it will not be hard to get the clergy, that is the 2 Archb^s. at least, to signify to the Archb. of Canterb. their opinion that the old forces are more than needs to keep the country in quiet.

I will not yet begin to say particulars of villanies wee have already discovered in the management of the Treasury. That will be better when wee know more. Adieu.

XLIII.—LIEUT.-GENERAL DRUMMOND TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 49.]

Edr. Sep^r. 19 [1667].

MY VERY NOBLE AND DEAR LORD,

By my last I told your lordship how some of the late rebels wer forfaitured and others under process, and that wee, relying upon His Majestie's goodness and your frindship, had caused prepare signaturs for his Maj^{ties} gift of some of their lands w^{ch} wilbe presented by Gen. Dalyel, who intends shortly a journey to london. An ourture hes been sent from the councell to the King for pardoning all others, but it wes thought by many that all such landed men, heritors, or feuers who ar not as yit suffioned, and so not under process, should not so heastely have the benjfit of idemnity and the King's mercie, but that yit they should be sought out and proceeded against, of which sort ther is a considerable number which for my ouen part I did not knou but of late. As for the coñunes, every on thought thes fit to be forgiven if they would take the oath of alleadgeane and declaratione, but the King's pleaur determyns all; upon the disbanding of the forces the Gen. and I hes been exposed to some people's ill will, who have searchd with great industrie to have found out some ground of callumating us, and hes served edicts at all the kirkdoors in thes parts where wee had been most converseing

for encouraging every man to bring in their complaints if ther wes anything to say against us, but all this malice wes in vaine, for wee have done nothing hiddenly, but all things with faithfulness, and that before the eyes of the world, notw^tstanding wherof wee ar constructed to be under a cloud, for which wee know not the least reasone. And therfor entreatts your lordship, whos extraordinarie kindness wee have ever been sensible off and acknowledge, that by your mediatiōne his Majestie might cleer us by some signe of his favour now bestowed upon us, wheroff I shall make no doubt. In a long tyme I have said nothing to your lordship of the bussiness of the Abay Inchaffray, because I could not get the question brought in befor the lords at the last sessione. Now I intend to persew itt, and hes got my lord St. Andrew's signature delyvered to me. My dear Lord, if any sollicitatiōne wes presented to yow for obstructing his Majesties gift thereof to me, which I acknowledge to have found from yourself, I hoop you will befrind me as formerly, for I will never fail to be,

My dear and noble Lord,
Your most oblidged and most humble servant,
W. DRUMOND.

XLIV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.^a

[23128, ff. 54, 55.]

Yester, 20 Sep. '67.

* * * * *

This affords me a rise to say to you again a thing I have formerly toucht to you by word of mouth, if I misremember not; it is this. These 7 years past you have constantly walkt with singular tenderness in all matters, both as to the State & the Church, wherein the consequences might any wise reflect upon you, as if

^a This letter is of especial interest, as explaining Lauderdale's conduct since 1660, and his successful management of Charles.

devised, proposed, advised, or helpt on by you. And I cannot say but you did so upon weighty & discreet considerations. Let me now minde yow of two things, and then I will say my further thoughts of the matter. If you look back yow will certainly finde the following of courses you would never have advised & wisely forbore to curb,^a hathe been far from succeeding well ; the errors thereof are now conspicuous enough to the authors. And next observe that as either other courses must be followed, or things abandoned, these people being unfit, or indeed unable, to mannage matters aright, so whatever be the success of any course that shall hereafter be resolved, it will certainly be mainly attributed to you, & in some measure to your friends. It is therefore my clear iudgement that you stick no more at the considerations have formerly prevailed with you, but frankly & without hesitation propose, advise, & carry on, whatsoever you iudge fittest for the good of the King's service, please or displease whom it will below him. All mists are now cleared up. Nobody can make the King suspect your loyalty, your integrity, your affection to him, nor the candor of your professions as to things Ecclesiasticall as well as Civil. You do not doubt your own heart, & have a clear sense in all matters. You know you have some honest friends, & how to manage such as have kappergalls. And so I have done with this chapter when I have added a serious desire that you will lay all the weight upon the frank advice I give you that after deep reflection you shall find cause for.

Though S. S. & I laughd till wee was weary at the letter of Bishops that was sent you,^b while wee read the copie of it (as, if hee do not tell you, as a pleasing interlude, such as wee frequently admitt in our most serious conversations, I may do it ere I make an end), yet you will pick out of it some passages that may sway you to comply with the advice I give, & in which I think S. S. will

^a *E.g.*, re-establishment of Episcopacy, the Church Commission, the policy of persecution, the application of fine money to maintenance of troops.

^b See *ante*, 23128, f. 32.

concurrere ; if I thought it were necessary to mark them to you I would ; but in sum you will soon observe, as wee have done, what a silly company of people they are, & how usefull one of them^a is in mannaging of the rest ; if, after communication with S. S., I finde he hath left any thing more for me to add on the head of Ecclesiasticall matters, I will do it.

XLV.—23128, f. 63. Sept^r 24, 1667. ROTHES TO LAUDERDALE. Has received the order to lay down his commission, which he does with the utmost willingness. Requests Lauderdale to express to the King his “pasionat desayr to cis his hands.”

XLVI.—23128, f. 67. Yester. Sep. 24, 1667. ROBERT MORAY to LAUDERDALE. Applauds the taking away of Rothes's offices by degrees ; the doing so all at once would have looked much more to the disadvantage of the person. Should any further information be needed to convince the King as to the necessity of at once vacating the Commissionership, it can be readily supplied. Recommends that the lowest price set upon the customs shall be 26,000 lb. if private persons farm them, and 27,500 lb. or 28,000 lb. if the Burroughs undertake them.

XLVII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 73.]

Ed^r 26 Sep. 67.

Though I take pen in hand without knowing what to write, yet it is 2 to one I fill half this page at least before I take it off again, were it onely with clash to keep my hand in use. A pretty story iust now come in my minde shall be don. I was yesterday told by the old knight that E. Annandale swore to

^a James Sharp.

him that to his certain knowledge E. Roth. hath a bond signed by D^{ns} Hamilton wherein hee obliges himself to pay to E. R. the iust half of what profit he shall any get by the taxations. The knight sayes E. Annand. uses him alwayes with entire freedom when they meet, & gave me this for a sample. Another pretty story I learnt from the same hand little inferior to this. Pet: Hay, E. Morton's chamberland, as hee came south was at the Bog. When the La. Marg. askt him whether hee was going: He said to Edinb. but meant to see the Com^r by the way. Shee told him if that was his purpose hee would do well to take Aboine in his way, for shee beleevd hee would finde the Com^r there. Thether hee went, but the Com^r was not come. Forward hee came to Lesly & found him still there, where being set at table amongst other good company male & female, some question was askt him (that I have forgot) about his iourney, to which his answer was that hee was at Aboine, where there was exceeding great preparations making to entertain his grace. I leave you to guess how everybody lookt at that story.^a Pet. Hay told it to the knight himself. SS. sayes the rest. Hee hath done, & I have nothing serious to add till next post. Adieu.

XLVIII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 121.]

[Account of bidding for the Customs.]

Ed^r. 10 Oct. 67.

* * * * *

After this the Archb. having employed one of his handsom discourses upon the King's constant and high regarde to Church matters, etc. and the hearty concurrence of those his M^{tie} employes in what conduces to their good, etc. hee desired an Act of Council might be made ordaining Sherifs, &c. to sift such persones as by

^a Rothes's mistress was nearly related to the Marquis of Huntly.

the Bishops were cited and represented to be contumacious, before their synodes, according to the former constant practice of this Church, which was readily agreed to. Then by a vote the L. Bellenden was chosen to be conveneer of the Council if any emergent should require it; the Council was adiourned to 7 of Novemb. & so I leave it.

This morning the lords meet in Exchequer for setting the customes according to former appointment, and having resolved upon all particulars & the methode of proceeding the dores were cast open and S. Wa. Seaton and a crowd of offerers & spectators being lett in, the first offer that was made was 25,000 lb. sterlin per annum, and from that sum five severall offerers raised one another till at last, all others being silent, the last offer made by Longshaw of 31,300 lb. was accepted. This improvement of 12,300 lb. will perhaps surprise you, as every step of the whole progress of the offers did almost every one of those that saw & heard it, and will I doubt not furnish you with abundance of reflections, of which it is not one of the least considerable that S. Walter Seaton offered 31,000 & then gave over, the other 300 being superadded by single hundreds by Langshaw (younger) and one Petrie, who spoke for a party yet unknown to us. One would think by this S. Walt. had not a very bad pennyworth formerly, &c. The way of Rowping was new. The Hussier stood by the Lord Chancellor, & by his order cried out what was suggested to him. After intimation read by the clark at the barr that the Customes Forrain excise and Border Customes were to be farmed for 5 years. That they were to bid for alltogether in one sum without any advance. Each offer exceeding the former by 100 lb. at least. One offerd 25,500 lb. Then the crier was ordered to proclame that such a one had offered 25,000 lb., any man more bid? Once. Then after a pause repeating again as before said Once, Twice, & a third time adding, Once, Twice, Thrice. If in the intervals between these cries any other party offered more, than the crier began again as before, such a one hath offered 25,500 lb. or so at once. Again, after a pause, Once, Twice, and so on, till they came to 27,500

which sum being offered the Crier cried as before—Once, Twice, Thrice, and after a pause no Body offered more. Then the Chancellor ordered the offerers and crowd without the Bar to withdraw. All being gone out and the dores shut the Com^{rs} did all agree that they were satisfied with this offer & would accept it, if nobody would offer more. Then the dores being opened, & all come in again, the Crier by appointment cried such a one hath offered 27,500 lb. and the lords will accept it, if nobody offer more, once. Then another offered 200 lb. more. Then Crier repeated as before, Once, Twice, & so they went on rising sometimes by 100, sometimes 200, 300 & 500 till they came to the sum that was accepted. The Chancellor having intimated that when the Crier should for the last time cry Once, Twice, Thrice, the bargain would be closed, and when Langshaw had offered the last sum, the Crier for the third time cried out Once, Twice, Thrice, at very great leisure, and so it closed. You never saw a prettier recreation of that kinde than this transaction afforded. Every body had fair play; there was no disorder nor hurry, & every one was well satisfied with the whole matter. This recreation I give you in relating a new story with a pleasing close. Wee have mended some clauses that were in the former Tackes, whereof one was that when the Tack should be quitted before the terme expired upon the falling out of warr or plague, &c., S. W. Seaton should be collector, etc.

The business of these 2 dayes makes a pretty noise here. I must say that yesterday was the first that lookt to me lyke a right Council day since I com hether. The matter of debate was all grave business, and the manner grave and without noise, etc. And this dayes worke furnishes discourse great store to people of all sortes. Yesterday (for you have things as they come) when it was resolved that the prisoners in Edinb. that were in the Rebellion should be set at liberty, they giving the security required in the proclamation. It was moved by the L. Lee that one—of Blackwood, a prisoner for accession, &c. (it was he who went between T. Dalrymple and Wallace at Colinton), might be set at liberty, hee

giving bond for himself, his men, Tennants, and Servants, as was to be done by other gentlemen. After some debate, it was moved that hee might be set at liberty as was proposed, provyding that in regarde hee was a prisoner hee would sure caution for his keeping the peace. This was thought reasonable, and upon the condescending to it, the Lord Lee undertook to binde for him in the sum of 1000 crowns, and it was accepted. So here is a bridge made for the other gentlemen prisoners, sans que l'on s'en soit appercu. Within a while wee will see what use they will make of it. But at present SS. & I take no manner of notice of them.


XLIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY to the EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 136.]

Yester. 14 Oct. 67.

This answers your last of S. John told me of your dog Match. I am glad you can make any use of those observations about Trade. I forbore to mention our exportation of our wool, because I would not give you then occasion to touch it, not knowing but you might either do that or shew the paper. It were a great good to this nation to have leave to export our wooll. It is coarser than the English, & wee cannot work it or not all, so the loss is great, yet the English will oppose it if once they think of it; because they will conclude it will open a dore for exporting their wooll here, and it will be, I think, impossible to satisfy them that it can be prevented, and it will indeed be hard. I have not yet thought fully on a sure way to do it: but intend to spend some thoughts on it, & then advertise you. You make our teeth water a litle in suspending your relation of the reasons why you could not tell us why you said so litle of trade in your last. SS. will be with you in time enough to ripen your thoughts of the union before you talk any more of it to the L. keeper.

Your dispatches were all full & intelligible, and I think you will not finde much fault with the mannagement of all here. What was not said touching the militia in our former SS. will say. What was to be sent you concerning Longifacies^a is not yet ready: a friend is making up a collection that will be sent when it is compleat. Will Sharp was again minded of sending you the copy of his epistle, & if it be not done before I see him to morrow I will do my best to make him do it. SS. sayes the reason why my morall friend^b got none was, because Longif. would not draw it: and it was strong, for it must have clasht with yours, or not have pleased the 10, at least 9 of them, for there is one more almost of Longifacies minde. I see you have more mortifications than are in your

minde. S.S. and ^c are most perfectly of your minde as to the prisoners. Hee will at meeting say all at length that concernes them.

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L.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, ff. 143-146.]

Ed^r. 17 Oct. '67.

SS. will by Gods favor be with you sooner than this. The L. Chanc. parts not till to-morrow. I will first see what is to [be] said to your last of . . . & then ad what occurres. I told the L. Cha. why you write not to him. I told him also of your satisfaction with your wives being churcht. I am as litle displeased as

^a Alexander Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow.

^b Archbishop Sheldon. See Appendix for the curious history of this letter.

^c The writer himself. In his correspondence he frequently uses the mason's mark, especially when he wishes it understood that writing in sympathetic ink is to be expected.

you that my la. Susan gets not her Aunts place. I have writ it to her sister. Whatever become of Turn.^a I would have Kell.^b once have a promise of the place. SS. will tell you what I said to Tur., but till hee be called to account for his intromissions, & what is to be said against him from the country come in, and be tabled, there can be no clearness as to his being out nor of getting notice authentically of his Chamberlandry to Longif. But as to the madness as well as malice that invents stories of changes hereaway, it raignes in 2 sortes of people which I need not describe to you. And there are some that are not much displeased that troubles be said to be near, hoping still that may bring moulter to their mill. As to the Militia, SS. will say all that needs. Tis true hee hath not been eager (?) for it, but I confess I do not think anything fitter for the Western Shires, because if it were establisht, expectations & rules of acting in case of any disorder there would be clear, & every body would know what to do & what to trust to, whereas now, if any such thing should fall out, though the horse and foot to be posted there-away may know what way to act upon occasion in regarde of the orders they receive, but the noblemen and gentlemen can do nothing, be the occasion never so pressing, till the Council be advertised, meet, & send orders to them, which can never be under a weekes time at least. The Archb. of Glasgow had the Kings speech sent him with the L. Keeper's, the first whereof I have not yet seen. Your lurch is out; for SS. is a man of his word. This is all that growes out of your letter. Now an Ollapadrida. Many raving stories run abroad, some minted out of malice, other folly or drink: and some have other motives, but few are worth the noting; but one is that wee have wrongd the country in rowping Customs & Excise together & then dividing them into 2 sundry tackes, whereof that of the Excise containes not half of the whole sum as it did before. But if SS. do not clear this to you, I will help to minde him of what is to be said for it. It were fit now to when the examination of the Treasurer's and Treasurer deputies accounts should be made to graunt a speciall

^a Sir James Turner.

^b Kellie.

warrant to try upon what grounds & reasons so vast summes were remitted to S. Walt. Seaton in 64 & 65. He quakes with the apprehension of it, and it would not onely *Discouvrir le pot aux Roses* but lay open the whole intrigues of S. Walters manangement of the Customes. Therefore by no meanes let it slip out of your minde, & charge SS. to minde you if it do. I have spoken to the Chans. with the freedom and candor of an honest friend, in diverse particulars wherein hee opened himself to me as hee did to SS. I mean onely to say what has past since SS. went; he knowes the rest, and is as well as you & I resolved to do all imaginable good offices to the Earle of Rothes and his family.^a Hee tells me hee is now resolved to acquiesce in the Kings pleasure that hee should be Chancellor, though still talkes of his unfitness and aversion. I commended his resolution, and have frankly advised him by no means to offer to the King to divest himself of that office, lest it should displease him, and he be taken at his word. But withall I told him I could perceive in him still tendencies to be quit of it, which hee can not deny. Then I spoke of his presiding in session, & how to attain the faculty to do it. The other part of his duety he thinkes not so difficult. Then I told him, but not abruptly, though frankly, that I confessed I did much approve his acting as generall, considering that the King's letter had as good as baulked it, though it did not appear to be taken flatly away no more than the generall offices of the others. Hee said that although hee thought his being under the Great Seal should be expressly discharged before it can be understood to be vacated, hee means to represent the uselessness of it to the King, *Gare*. Then as to the King's approbation of his service in the exercise of his great commission whereof hee had spoke to me before, and I had said no doubt it would be got, &c. (as SS. knows) I added this day that it would be well hee had it so drawn as it might not exoner those who, though they may have acted by his warrant or order, may have failed or much exceeded the limites prescribed: that I saw toucht, but he said he meant no

^a Now that he had been rendered powerless.

such matter, and seemed to think I meant as to the Treasury, which was not so; but this I did to help him to evite rubs & to render it more fair to take notice there of such clauses, if there be any. And I presume hee will be carefull enough of it. But yet more, speaking to me as formerly of some present from the King, I told him, that as you would tell him your minde in it so it would do well not to touch that string if it should in the least be found uneasy, and in that hee readily ioined with me. So that all hee will do in it will be to speak to you of it. And to tell you truely I would have you to do your best to obtain some handsom present for him, & I think SS. will ioine who will say more in that chapter. However, I told him that as I wrote to you my desires to this purpose, so I would not conceal that though it was a most generous action in the King to give E. Craff. a present all considered, yet it might be said hee were quite off, but this I poussed but softly. And on these heads wee talkt a pretty while this evening & as long in the morning. Enfin, I would be exceeding glad hee were tourné a vostre gré. For hee good & taking parts, it is a great pittty there is any inconvenient mixture. And certainly the King will be civil to him. But — the rest to SS.

From friends in the West I am told there are strong indeavours used to discompose things, but their success is not apprehended, onely it is highly prest & I wish it heartily that one way or other Col. Lee were brought in play, as a matter that would past all doubt conduce as much to the quyet of those parts as the employment of any other whatsoever.

LI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 146.]

Edr. 19 Oct. '67.

To refresh SS. & congratulate his arrivall I have presented him with the letter of stories and other matters. This shall onely in the first place bid you squeeze SS. quickly, & haste him down again.^a I have no will hee should roust nor moul there as hee will do as soon as you have got out of him all he hath to say, & said to him all that needs. Do but reflect once upon the face of things here, & whom wee have amongst us for business, if there be need either of council or action, and you must conclude hee ought not to stay long away. I did at parting with the L. Chancelor press his speedy return because wee have never a great officer amongst us. So you have no room to upbraid me with narrowhartednes that bids you haste SS. home, as if I envyed you his company for 10 or 12 dayes. But though you should scold me for it, I intend to dunn you upon this matter as often as I write till I hear hee is coming away. My next will say what course I take in visiting friends till the next council day. I intend W. Sharp shall know all my iests, that he may send my letters to me, and mine will alwise come opportunely to him. One story told me but now shall come in here. Yesternight Longi. told Newbyth that before the last Council day a friend of his came to him, & with a more than ordinary sadness in his countenance askt him if he meant to keep the next council day? He answered he intended it. The other advised him not to go; hee askt why? The reply was, that for certain Archb. of St. A. was to be turned out of the Council & the Archb. of G. out of both council and session. His reason was that he durst undertake the Archb. of Glas. would be well pleased to be turned out of both. Consider the man.

Adieu.

^a He returned in the middle of January following.

LII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 148.]

Edr, 20 Oct. '67.

I have some imaginations, not without ground, that hee [Roths] expected I should before hee parted have said somewhat or other to him about his drinking & possibly another matter. But the last being out of my rode as yet I have not intended it. And, as to drinking, I took a way to let him know the Kyng dislyked it, that was tender enough. I did oftner than once or twice talk of it home to the Duke of H. and as it was my meaning hee should tell him what I said, so hee hath certainly done it. Therefore I abstained de luy rompre en visiere, till, being most conversant with him, my words might take right with him, & I be less lyable to indiscretion. However, it is observed there is of late less time spent that way than formerly, and I would have you acquaint the King with this as the onely point of his cōmaunds whereof I have not till now given him an account. And I think it would do exceeding well that the King would let fall a word to the Duke of his excessive drinking, for I have made him as good as promise hee would do so no more unless it were in the Com^{rs} Company^a (it was at my last being in Hamilton) where I raunted him to a tune for it, for with him I take liberty & hee endures it well. I have formerly hinted to you that there is a reserve of things not fit to be writ,^a and even scarce to told. SS. knowes them all. Notwithstanding all hath been said to dissuade the Duke from his london iourney, hee will go. I amongst other arguments told him I did not understand how hee can answer for his leaving the country, having declared in Council as he did what danger the disbanding of the forces left it in: Insomuch as he durst not live at his own house; to this hee said hee could do nothing to prevent or help it, which gave me ground to say other things that ly obvious to you,

^a See ante.

but whatever other motive there be, sure to get an assignement upon the cess of the northern shires for some considerable sum towards payment of his 14,000 lb. is one. And I am told E. Airly (who they say is now married to my lady Marquess of Huntly) hath the same design. Perhaps when the King sees the Duke of H. hee will think fit to look somewhat gravely upon him, for going up & leaving the country without leave. Especially seing for the good example of others hee hath so often publickly averred hee will not binde for his Tennants. I have told him once or twice it is his bad usage of them, & disobliging the county people thereaway that makes them considder him so litle, and that were I in his place I would be quickly able to do what he refused as impossible for him, that is, answer for the peaceableness of Cliddesdale. I had yesternight a letter of the E. Lowden sent me by E. Arg. wherein he hath enclosed a list of names of Tennants of his from whom an officer of L. G. Drumond's hath exacted 16 or 1700 lb. Scots with the copie of a certificate under his hand that the persone therein named after inquiry was found not to have had accession to the rebellion, yet he got from him 100 mark scots. And this puts me in minde of another feat of warr practised I hear by S. J. Turner, which will make you laugh if you know it not already. S. James had ten horsemen that helpt to levy his church fines, &c., they were sent out to quarter by pairs, and every 2 exacted in every place quartering for themselves and for 8 horse more at 12*d.* a-piece, threatuing to send for the other 8 if they refused. Thus by a more solid kinde of arithmetick than the scholear reckoned 2 eys to be 3, he hath had a way to multiply 10 horse to fifty; egregie quidem. There are more ways than one taken to bring all such pranks to a hearing. I am content not to strain for filling up this page, onely I ad that if I see not Mungo Moray before 11 a clock I mean not to stay for him, for L. Bellenden will do all that is to be done.

Adieu.

From Sir R. Moray.

LIII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 167.]

Edr, 7 Nov. '67.

* * * * *

This evening I gave L. F.* a visite, but I would not begin to talk of any matters & hee did not, so wee talkt about an hour of a cock and a bull.

You will henceforth weekly have a breviat of all that passes amongst us of moment. It begins this night. Th. Moncreiff sends it. Anything you would have more done will be performed.

C. Rothess went from hence this morning to Toinningham. Shee knowes nothing of her lord's matters. All is very quyet in the west. One Steel, an honest minister whose parish is the Glenkenne's, hath been with me & given me a large account of all matters. He sayes Turner was a saint to Balantine ; that by St James there was in all exacted about 150,000 lb. That he hath read his Coñmission ; that it is in generall termes ; one article being, *To exact the 20 skill. for being absent from church, & to take such information as he thought fit when ministers did not give it.* The first part hee streacht as far back as he pleased, as if his Coñmission had reacht to the year 60. And then when that amounted to a vast sum hee was conceived to go within his Coñmission when he compounded for a less. The Coñmission he thinkes is yet in being in the hands of some of the Whigs about his parish, as also letters of L. F. which excite to all severity. He hindered Turner from exacting a groat in his parish, telling him that if hee did hee might if he pleased preach the Sunday after at his church for hee himself would not. He lived there in safety all this while, but the country which was rich is now so beggard by Turn. & Ballant. that they pay not nor cannot pay his stipend, so that he hath not whereon to live though he be well loved

* Longifacies.

in his parish which is under the B. of Dunblane, who placed him there. Yet hee sayes so hee may have but whereon to live, hee will stay there or any where else where hee may be usefull. He is to stay here all this moneth, & I intend to talk often with him. It were long to repeat all wee speak of, but chief things will be written to you.

Let me now tell you that there is one thing to be done to our prim. that would set him up and fix him for ever. I would say it no sooner though I have thought on it before, and the provost hath been advising something of extraordinary kindness to be done him. The thing I mean is that the King would write 2 lines to him^a with his own hand. The subiect may be his M^{ties} being well pleased with his deportments in what relates to affaires here & his going so cheerfully along with his known pleasure, and the persones whom hee trusts, &c. This would raise his heart, which I see is bemisted & lodged in his hose as thinking himself still under a cloud, and then it would most infallibly rivet him to you. Think upon it, for I speak not of anything within 20 mile of it, neither to himself nor the provost (whom by the way I finde to be exceeding intimate with him, though I do not at all suspect he was inspired by him, when he talkt to me of lightening his heart). If the King relish this, I think it will be of great use, and if it be done I will let it surprise him. Hee is still here & goes away, as L. F. does, on Monday or Tuesday next. I shall to-morrow get from him all that hath past between them. This is all now. D. J. R. & S. S.

Adieu.

^a See 23128, f. 273.

LIV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 175.]

Ed', 12 Nov. '67.

My other letters writ at yester are on litle paper ; this is so large it will hold more than I mean to say. I intended to have said nothing to you but one word or 2 about Don John,^a but now I shall say a word or 2 more in answer to your last of 7. I propose to you whether it be not good for his son to have the King's commaunds laid upon him to stay there this winter, let his father fart or fling. For to tell you plainly I think him perfectly distracted, and so certainly will you if SS. tell you all that past amongst us at yester—put him to it. I shall relate no more of it but one passage that will set you on edge. He told me that his daughter^b our wife would have her brother marry one that will have no children;^c and for a proof added that shee advised himself to marry one was lyke to have no sonnes, &c. L. Stair while I write is walking by me, and we are talking of this very subiect, but I do not tell him I am saying anything of it to you. You court me mightily that writes me so long a letter in your waiting week ; so I smile on you while I give SS. his staikes. I lyke mighty well the stories you tell me of what past in the conference with the laird.^d And take that question which the other did not tell you hath got such an answer as will make more crestsfa[ll] than his, for I have heard he thought to *remonter sa beste*, and certainly he thought to get the duke into the Thesauray as it is so now till all the packes be opened. I think SS. will not get off, but pray hasten that as much possible, how cross soever it be to your own satisfaction.

^a Earl of Cassilis.^b Lady Margaret Kennedy. This settles the question as to who one of "our wives" was. Other passages prove the second to have been the Duchess of Hamilton.^c He married Lady Susan Hamilton in 1668.^d Charles II.

LV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[James Sharp betrays the military ring.]

[23128, f. 213.]

Ed^r, 10 Dec. '67.

This will not, I think, be so long as the other in answer of 2 of SS.'s because you furnish me no matter, & litle occurs, yet somewhat there does. In the first place, do not suspect that I have taken wrong measures, and then let me tell you that the Primate is as fixt to you as the provost, & I think hee is enough, though still I use discretion with both. The p^r. & I have had diverse full & free conferences. He thinks not fit any new overture concerning Ecclesiasticall matters be made till this year be out, with which the terme of the King's pardon expires, and I ioyn. Hee hath laboured to rectify L. F. but in vain, in so much that now they can sit an hour together & talk onely as L. F. & I did at our last meeting, whereof SS. had an account. But one notable passage fell out between the p^r. & me yesterday in our conference. Speaking of the Chancelors parts I chanced to reflect upon his getting himself made Generall without your help. I had no sooner hinted this but he with a litle startle took sore & flew out as Archimedes once did that this did now without further hesitation confirme him in an opinion hee had all this while been almost persuaded of without it. For now said hee I am sure the late Rebellion was designed & encouraged by ———, whom I do not need to name, as by laying 20 passages together which hee had carefully observed & laid to heart, he could to any rationall man clearly make out, & so in a continued narration ript up all his remarkes, repeating oftner than once, that hetherto the onely stick hee had in concluding absolutely the designe was laid was the beleef hee had that you had procured that Com^{ra} of Generall to him that had it, but now that I had (sans y penser) taken off that, hee was cleer, clear in all matters, &c. This discourse kept up long, and when I made objections against the thing, hee wiped all off, & minded mee that

hee had oftner than once hinted to me his suspicions the thing was so designed as I acknowledged he had, but withal told him I had not taken hold of it; because I thought he had meant it another way, that is by driving furiously, cheifly by Turner's means, &c. but he thought not that the cheif worke but the other underhand working, which I never noted as not thinking it probable; in sum he reckoned up to me many odd remarks, and coming to speak of the passages that occurred at the defeat & the day before, which seemed all to quadrate well enough with his opinion, hee regraited he had not kept a copy of the letter Th. Dalyell wrote to him the night before, which he sent you, nor of his own that he wrote to you with it. Hereupon I offered to desire copies of them from you, which if you can send to me to convey to him hee will be much satisfied & be able to expound & give an account of all passages in them, & especially of the expressions he used that looked lyke despondency, for he found cuning & industry used to the utmost to move him to despond & do that which might have spoiled all, that the blame might be laid on his shoulders. Pray, therefore, seek out those letters and send me copies of them. I say copies is all I ask. I frequently suggested during our confidence that if I had but the thread of the end I would winde off the pirne. But hee could not pitch upon any particular tooles, suggesting onely that it might have been done by women, & in this place, &c. but be what reality there will in this, I mean to beat every bush for it that I can think on. Wee have talkt of all persones & stories so much as would afforde a whole winter night's entertainment. And now I can say with much confidence he cannot possibly be more fixt than he is. And I shall onely ad more as to him, that if there can be such a letter writ to him as I proposed in my last it will not onely confirme your kindness to him past all possibility of future rapture, but render him more usefull in all things that concerne the King's service than any other of his coat hereaway can be, & remember that is well worth the doing, & so I have done with this.

Now pray let your Uncle know that whilst I write Cap. Jo. Rutherford speakes to me of Registring his bond & using all possible diligence against him here, & advising he may be arrested there.

There is a Damned book come hither from beyond sea called Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland,^a &c. nameless. A copy came to my hands, & I have given it to the prim. to look over. I mean to send it to you in the next Blackbox. I shall onely now tell you amongst other noble records it tells exactly the whole story of the death of the man whom T. D. caused shoot as I have heard it related & spared not bitter epithetes, &c. I think I shall speak of it next council day to have it damned, &c. Yet I will preserve my copy to send if I can. It hath all the Traytors speeches on the scaffold here, & in a word all that a Tounge set on fire by hell can say of things & persones hereaway. This is in the usuall manner grown much longer than I thought it would when I began. So now D. J. R. Adieu.

LVI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 223 b.]

Ed', 14 Dec. '67.

* * * *

Duke H. writes home that hee is well lookt on by the King, & that he hath not at all been told of any thing hee hath done amiss. Though he hath no great cause to brag, yet it may be of use to let him know hee hath not done in all things as he ought. Were it onely for hereafter. And if he were askt if he took any compositions off Cliddesdale people that were in the rebellion to let them ive peaceably at home (which he did ignominiously) perhaps his

^a Compiled by Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Stuart, of Goodtrees, and Mr. James Stirling, minister at Paisley.—See Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 100.

crest would fall a little, though he will say the Com^r gave him warrant for it (where by the way observe what warrants & orders the Com^r gave). The bad weather hath hindred the E. of Niddesd. to come hither, but he is every hour expected.

I minded S. S. in my last to look over my letters for doing every thing I have hinted so far as is fit, & now I bid you remember to get us impowred to look into the reasons why there was so great abatements made to S. W. Seaton^a in '64 & '65. For we will find a dog in the pot, and such a business as if the Enoneration preclude it not will crow in somebodies crop. So will Turner's Comission & other things. The provost suggests breaking of the *knot*. Either by taking off D. Ham. or putting the other *Hors de jeu*.

Here now by this packet you have the book I spoke of to you.^b The copy I got first was this day burnt by the Hangman. I have not as yet read above 10 lines of it more than the Title nor do not intend to read more of it. The damned passages of it have been read to me, and you will find many of them markt. I send you also Rob. Montgomeries letter to me, and leave his matter with you. L. F. speakes to some in termes wherein he insinuates that I represent some people there as undeserving persones that are very faithfull, & bids our Chanc. call to my morall friend^c to see what he hath writ to him. D. Ham. wrote me an answer to my last to him, that shewes he would have me think him somewhat peekt, and I have writ an answer that will not moue in his pouch though it be fair. My letters are called for. A Dieu to you both. 12 or 16 Rebels in Cliddesdale have taken the benefit of the pardon. More will. D. Ham. enquires curiously if any hath.

CONSTRUE.

^a See ante.

^b Naphtali.

^c Sheldon.

LVII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 225 b.]

Ed. 16 Dec.

17 Dec.

By a letter from the West I am told that D. Ham. writes home that now is the time to get somewhat done for that family if ever. And that if nothing be done for it hee may use such free language to John Red as may make them less friends hereafter; but John Red is wiser than to be moved by this prediction, or the performance, if he should be such a fool as to do what he sayes; the persone that writes to me (*c'est l'une de mes femmes*) sayes it is lyke hee and Chan. both are peekt upon another account, & does not at all believe hee considerrs that business as hee pretends, & I am much of that minde to, and I am told from the same hand hee keepes close correspondence with L. F. I would gladly have the laird speak a word or 2 to him about drinking, & if he please to the chair. I would also have the letter writ to the prim. that I mentioned formerly;^a it would do a world of good, as to the strengthening of his hands. And he is certainly in a tune to be mannaged by you as well as it is possible for you to wish any one of his coat to be. And because you know there hath been great rumors of a design to subvert the order of Bishops, & L. F. is still of that minde or pretends it, and because they are all desirous to have somewhat done to take off their fears & stop the mouths & the current of the Conceit of the phanatickes, besides all hath been said to the Council lately fauors of them, it would methinkes be very well done that another letter were write to the prim. to be communicate to the rest of the B.B., taking a rise from those phanatick rumors, & assuring them of his own intentions to support & countenance their order, & to undertake for those whom he

^a See ante, 23128, f. 167.

intrusts with his affaires, &c. This, I think, would do much good. Weigh it. Wee expect your return as to Armes, &c. More occurs not now ; therefore, D. J. R.,^a A Dieu.

From Sir Robert Moray.

LVIII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 235.]

Hamilton, 30 Dec. '67.

This in answer to SS's last of 24 will be my last from this place at this time. I do not remember that I wrote the story of the primate's reflexion upon late passages, and his conclusions thereupon in such words as imported I beleev'd what he concluded to be true.^b I onely said I would enquire further into it, and if that import any degree of beleef, so much I may do not disclaim. And accordingly I have been sounding here & there especially to finde out from whence the stories by which many of those that rose in rebellion were most encouraged to their acting in it; but cannot as yet finde they came from any other than their preachers & ring leaders. So be in it what will more, I do not see how it can be made out as yet so as to convince one that doubts of it. However, the resolutions the laird has taken are good. And as to the western lords, there is this to be said more than formerly, the 2 borderers absented themselves from the last weekes meeting appointed by E. Linlith as they did the day before, and, though they sent their own excuses, hindered others from coming as well. Cockburn writes me word, & I presume E. Linlithg. will have writ to you at large. The persones in the co'mission are well pitched on. I onely desire you may conclude the matter quickly. S.S. bids me receive the co'mission, but it is not come to my hands. I am sorry the Duke should so often do foolish things. It is presumed here by those that heard him say

^a Dear John Red.

^b See 23128, f. 213.

he would not make that last motion concerning the taxation of 33, unless he saw things went there to his satisfaction, that he hath been egged to do it, that a new refusall might hang him faster at another man's belt. Hee sayes hee will haste home; and a story comes round hether from the Weymes by Kelwoning that they are making great haste home because the court that is made to them by the Duke of Yorke may bring jealousy upon them.

LIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 240.]

N. d. [end of 1667.]

* * * *

This is all needs be said in answer to SS.; these 2 days produce nothing of moment, onely the Duke writes that hee will as silent as he can, if hee get nothing done to his satisfaction, according to her advice. And truely I was not affrayed for his making great noice. I suppose his seeing how bowles roll will have sufficiently tamed him. There is no manner of doubt but hee, L. F. & others, were borne on hand, that the Chanc. had so powerfull a personall interest with the laird^a that hee would get all done he pleased. I ad there was strong confidence to prevail with J. R.^b too (a youth not easy to be twisted if I know him well), and indeed it is now one of their fairest cardes that the two who are there are well with J. R.

But if I read right, let the Chanc. be used as hee will, if hee leap not the Dortor Dyke^c hee will seem to be the best pleased man in the world whenever hee comes home, as if every thing had succeeded to his wishes. And now, though I guess this will finde S.S. there, I will onely bid adieu to D. J. R., and leave him to divide with him if he please.

^a The King.

^b From the context this can scarcely mean John Red (Lauderdale); I fancy it means James Duke of York.

^c "To be in the dorts" is to be in the "sulks." "Dorty," as an adjective, may be either sulky, apt to take offence, or saucy, as applied to a girl. Moray says that Rothes will cloak any outward appearance of offence, however he may be used, unless he fairly "leap the (Dortor) Dyke," *i.e.* let his ill-humour get over all restraint.

LX.--ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 273.]

MY MOST NOBLE LORD,

Edinburgh, Jan^y 18, 1668.

In obedienc to your su^monds from Ware the 2d current, I payed my attendance in this place upon the 14th, the morrow after in the evening the E. of Tweeddale, having come to town, was pleasit that night to give me the honor of a visit, and to present me with two letters from the King, & one from my L. of Canterbury. After reading of them, I must confess the intimation given by your Lo^{ps} was made good to the full; my expectations had exceedit all measure, had I not been highly satisfyed, I could desire no more for the Church at this tym, and for myself, his M^{tyes} hand with the diamond seal,^a was to me as a resurrection from the dead; where obligations swell so high, as to overflowe all returnes of gratitude, the expression must fall short of the sense; I find in deed I have to doe with persons of honor and conscience, who have sayed litle but done much, I may know now how to make estimates. Your Lo^p has not dealt with me by halves; by yow I am restored to the good opinion of my most gracious master, which is dearer to me then my lyfe. I beleeve I am reintegrated to your Lo^{ps} favour, the eclipsing of which has been as bitter to me as death; what more can be done to give me a title to call myself to all the world wholly your Lo^{ps}, so y^t if ther be any reserve, or any corner in my heart, which by accidents of time can be dispossessed of sincere zeal for your service, I think the railings of Naphtali shall justly fall upon me. I have co^mmunicated the King's public letter to three B^{ps} and some ministers heer; they think they have cause to bliss and pray for the King and for your Lo^p, and now to be out of fear, y^t in the late transactions I had done dis-service to the Church, as some would have to be beleaved; God hath directed me in many turnes since I entered upon this office, but never

^a See ante, 23128, f. 167.

so as in this, and, though I had miscarryed, yet such has been your noble care for me as under the King's hand to send me more than a remission; if my carriage should meet with a publick challenge, as I am told some did design (if all heights had holdin) who privately whispered, y^t what was wreatin to your Lo^p was designed by me to render the King secure till all should be ruined; but I trust now all my brethren the Bishops & orthodox ministers will be undeceived, and know how much they owe to your Lo^{ps} so wise & seasonable interposing with his sacred Ma^{ty} to express his princely care & concern for them; they may see y^t yow have shewn yourself to be as good a patriot & freind to the Church as yow are thought to be an able Stats man & faythful minister to the Crown; y^t yow have no less generous ends then dexterous disposing of your actions towards those ends; where the true arts & grounds of government with the felicity of prudent & steady managery meet in the King's cheif ministers, no greater encouragement for Churchmen to pray hopefully y^t the three named in my L. of Canterburys letter may be instrumentall to complete his Ma^{tyes} happines as well as greatnes in this kingdom, & I presume to your Lo^{ps} desire I can wish no greater accumulation of honor to yow in this world. It will my Lord take some tym befor I can acquaint all the Bps. and others most concerned of the clergy with his Ma^{tyes} comānds, which I know will be very refreshing & encouraging to them at this tym, & so shall humbly begg his Ma^{tyes} dispense, till I be able to give an account of my diligence; but, conceiving it incumbent to make some humble return to that with which I was honoured from his Ma^{tyes} own hand, I have presumed to send it under your cover to be addressed by your Lo^p to the King.

As to what I have heard is ordered to the Lords Co^mmissioners of the Thesaurary in reference to me, I shall not pay my thanks, but say, y^t as to advantages of that nature I intendit to seek nothing in your favour but your favour itself, so whatever hath of your own accord been done, I owe it to your goodnes, & prise it

most becaus it flows from that spring, and thus conclude with my
blissing & prayers for your Lo^p my noble Ladye, my lord yester,
and my Ladye with the litle man, I am & ever shall be,

My Lord,
Your Lo^p most humbly devoted
& obedient servant,
S^t. ANDREWS.

LXI.—JEAN RAMSAY^a TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 290.]

MY LORD,

Breechan, febr 2, 1668.

I am affrayed least any thing might have escaped me in any
former applicationes to your Lo: wharby ther might have been any
iust occasion of offenc, and if ther hath been any thing of this
natur I crave your Lo^p humbly pardon, and nou seing through our
sentence of confynment to this place of the country wher trade is
dead and no uent for the labour of our hands^b (which hath been the
speciall mean of our Lyvelihood since ue uer left in this solitary
condition) uhereby ue ar redacted to som straits. Therefor I
humbly Intreat that your Lo: may compassionat our present case in
dealing uith his majesty for passaing that signator which by advyce
was sent to your Lo: or uhat else your Lo: shall iudge fitt and this
shalbe a lasting ty upon this poor family, and mor especially upon

Rt. Hon^{ty}. Your Lo: ueeluisher and servant,

JEAN RAMSEY.

^a Daughter of George, 2nd Earl of Dalhousie, afterwards wife of George, 11th
Baron Ross.

^b This is but one out of many such notices of the extreme poverty of the country.

LXII.—THE EARL OF LINLITHGOW TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23128, f. 334.]

MY LORD,

In obedience to his Majesties commands by his gracious letter of the last of December, 1667, a committie was appoynted, and by them order was given for bringing in ane exact accompt of those who have signed the bands for keeping the publick peace, and who have neglected the doing thereof, who of those who were accessorie to the late rebellion have accepted of his Majesties gracious pardon, and who have slighted the same. By ther report it appears ther are few or none of the considerable heretors in the severall shyres, who were appoynted to signe the bond for the peace, who have not signed the same, except such who had formerly taken the Declaration or are now prisoners, or whose constant residence was not within the shyres, did not apprehend themselves obliedged therto.

And of those that were accessorie to the late rebellion, of the shyre of Lanerk, 147 have taken the benefite of his Majesties gracious pardon, and signed the band for ther future deportment, and 100 have not. In the shyre of Air 57 have signed the bond, and 72 have not. In the stewartry of Kirkeudburgh and shyre of Dumfreice 14 have taken the band and 128 have not. The whole number of those who have come in upōn his Majesties gracious pardon being 218; And of those who have not embraced the same as yet 300; who for the most pairt are very mean persons, as servants, subtennants, or craftismen, and the remnant who were in the said rebellion were either killed in the field, or publickly execute, or are since dead, or fled out of the kingdome.

As to the further secureing of the peace and quyet of the kingdome, it is our humble opinion:

1. That his Majestie may be pleased to grant warrand for issueing a proclamation discharging all such who have not subscriyved the

band for keeping the publick peace, to have or wear any airmes, sword, durk, whinger, or any other whatsoever, or to have or keep any horses above the value of ffyftie pounds scottes, after a certane day to be affixt, and that a power and warrand may be granted to all sherreiffs, stewarts, bailzies of regalities, magistrats of borroughes, justices of peace, and other magistrats whatsoever, to search for and to seize upon all armes, in the possession of such persons, and to exact ten pounds scottes, toties quoties, aff the haver or wearer of such airmes, the one half to be given to the discoverer, and the other half to be disposed of by the judge as he shall think fitt, and further that they be impowered to seise upon and intromett with all horses which shall be found in the possession of those persons above the value of ffyftie pounds scots, payeing the said soume alwayes to the party. And that also by the said proclamation it may be declaired lawfull for any person whatsoever, who knowes of any horses in such hands above the value forsaid, to seise theron, bringing alwayes along with him any magistrat of burgh or landwart, or any of ther officers, or a messinger att airmes, or a nottar publick with witnesses, and in ther presence makeing payment of the said soume of ffyftie pounds scots, and in case of resistance (complaint being made to any of the magistrats forsaid) that they cause the horse to be delyvered to the person who seised the same, without payeing any pryce therfore, and otherwayes punish him in whose hands the horse was found, in his person at ther discretion.

2. Because through the absence of these who were appoynted to take the bands from the rebells, by reason of sicknes, or ther being att Edinburgh attending law sutes the tyme of the terme, the meetings for subscriyveing thereof were not so tymously nor so punctually kepted, and that many of the rebells themselves were fled the cuntry, or lurkeing in obscure places, and so did not knowe of the severall dyets befor the tyme wes elapsed and that diverse have come in since, and others may, it is our humble opinion, that all that have or doe accept of the pardon and sign the bond befor the intimation of his Majesties further pleasur to the councill may be

admitted thereto, and that his Majestie may be pleased to signifie his pleaur accordingly.

3. That his Majesty may give warrand for a proclamation, wherein the names of all such of the rebells as shall not have then taken the bond may be insert, and all Magistrats and others his Majesties judges and officers to burgh and landwart may be comanded upon ther Alleadgeance and duety to seise and apprehend them, and present ther persons to justice, and that all heretors and others his Majesties subjects may be discharged to harbour, resett, or keep any correspondence with them, with certification that such as faile herein shall be punished as aiders and abaters of rebells, and accessory to the rebellion, and if it shall be found that any of the saids rebells have or shall have any resett, supply, or intertainment within the bounds of any of those heretors who have not taken the bond for the publick peace, that every such heretor shall be furthwith persewed and proceeded against as guilty of the rebellion.

Against conventicles ther are acts of councill so many and so full already made as nothing can be added thereto. But the councill will be carefull to see them putt to due execution, and by two Acts of the last of Januarij. herewith sent have taken order for the removeall of all outed ministers furth of the city of Edinburgh and other prohibit places, and restraining conventicles therein.

As to the busines of the Coyne, wee desyre to see what effect the Commission for regulating of trade between the kingdomes shall take, befor wee give any further opinion therein, in regard the raiseing of the English coyne was offered by a committy as a proper mean for regulating and ballanceing the true value of all forraign coynes.

And lastly wee canot bot desyre his Majestie may be acquainted that ever since the Earle of Atholl had commission from the councill for preserving those of the lowlands from the molestation of the theeves and robbers of the highlands, the countrey hath been kept as quyet and free from all depredations as att any tyme here-

tofore, whereof wee humbly conceive his Majestie may take notice as good service done to his Majestie and the countrey.

Wee recomend to your Lo/ to offer these particulars to be considered by his Majestie, whereof wee have given notice by ane other letter herewith sent to the King, that wee may receive his Majesties commands theranent, and have ordered the presdent in our name to signe and transmitt the same, as from

My Lord,

Your Lo/ affectionat freinds,

Edinburgh, 27 february, 1668.

LINLITHGOW, T. p. d. con.

LXIII.—THE EARL OF DUMFRIES^a TO THE EARL OF
TWEEDDALE.

[Enclosed in Tweeddale's of 9 April, '68, to Lauderdale.]

[23129, f. 56.]

MY GOODD LORD,

London, the 4th of Aprile [1668].

By your Lops mediation I am satisfied that all mistakes are removed betwixt my Lord Lawderdale and me, for which I returne most humble thanks wth ane assurance that were my power suitable to my will your Lop should receive more large expressions of my affection to your service nor this paper can render. I have done myselfe the favor to wayt upon your prettie grandchild whoe promises as much as can bee expected from any of his age. Bee pleased to present my humble service to S^r Robert Murray, and beleve that I am nott ceremoniallie butt reallie,

My Lord,

. Your Lops most humble servant,

W.^b DUMFRIES.

^a Dumfries, it will be remembered, had been a prominent adherent of Middleton in the Billeting affair, had been employed by Sharp in his endeavour to form an alliance between Rothes and Middleton against Lauderdale, and had broken with Sharp over that matter.

^b *Sic.*

LXIV.—SIR PETER WEDDERBURN TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[Concerning Sir W. Ballantyne.]

[23129, f. 61.]

MAY IT PLEAS YO^r LO^r,

Edinb^r. 10 April, 1668.

The Councill had four severall meetings at this dyet, and have now adjourned till the first Weddinsday of Maij.

A proclamation is issued discharging the importation of Irish horses, and what concerns the Rebels who stand out is remitted to the former Committie for y^t affair.

The complaint ag^t S^r W^m Ballatine being insisted in, above fourtie witnes have bin examined upon the Articles of Oppressions and Exactions, reserving all his defences and objections ag^t witness befor advysing: but yesterday ther came in ane addition to the libell, that at his being latelie in Galloway he spoke to severalls that he knew they wer persones of tender consciences, and had never a better tyme to stir then now, and if they wold do so his horse shuld not be to sadle, and y^t it wes a fit tyme now for Presbiterians to make a motion, and y^t tuentie horses might go to the crosse of Edinb^r and do what they pleased.

Witness being examined, one depous he said, by his soule it was a fit occasion for the Whiggs to take the Bishops now when ther are no forces on foot, and y^t 40 horsmen wold take them all at Edinb^r. Other three depou y^t his speeches wer, That it wes fitter now to ryse then befor, and y^t 40 men wold do more then all of them did befor. This is the substance, but some sayes, a fit tyme for motion, some a fit opportunitie, and one, that they had now the ball at ther foot, and if they did not strike it wold worrie them.

Immediatlíe after these examinations, Liewtenant Gen^l Drummond told, that the night befor, S^r W^m told him that Mondrogat and Barskob wer sein openlie in toune, wherupon witness wer ex-

amined, wherof one declared, y^t S^r W^m told him y^t he had a message from Mondrogat to meet wth him, and that he himself had sair him in the Cougate. S^r W^m man depon'd he had drunken wth him at Leith and saw Barscob in the Cannagate, and S^r W^m himself depon'd he saw him in the Parl^t close, but y^t he went out immediatlie, and denyed he sayd he had ane appointm^t wth him when he was confronted.

Upon the whol matter S^r W^m is committed close prisoner in the tobuith of Edinb^r, and none to have acces but in presence of a Privie Counciellor, and S^r W^m servant, being thoght a fit persone, hes got a warrant to apprehend both thes Rebels, and a promise of a reward, w^{ch} he hes undertaken; God send a good succes.

I am, my Lord,
Yor Lop^s most humble servant,
PET. WEDDERBURNE.

LXV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 92.]

Edenb. 7 May, '68.

Yisterday the Kings letter anent the militia & instructions beeng first read in Councel all the particulars uer fully spoke to, & comitted for drauing what should be nesescary for the council to Emitt to the shyrs. The Duke was mightily dissatisfyed the uest country was left out, & had been scruid up to that measur by the letter yow sent, which did intimat it, the night befor, that he could not contean himself from expressing to me that he was slightid & neglectid, & yitt he could not ual condescend how, sontims he said he had as great interest in lithkowshir as my lord Uintoune, & uhen I told him bot the Duks hamiltoune had never any troupe or regment out of that shyre, and that I had it in the 41, & at stirling was namid to

it, beeing joynd with tuedale, then he said clidsdale was left out for his caws as Dumfrise for other his relations. I told my conjecture that the council's letter not beeng yitt ansuerid it seamid the King had put of setling a militia in those shysr till the cours w^t the rebels y^t had not given security uer resoluid, & the country could not be trustid till then, & advise from this was mor proper uho might be trustid in thos countrys from the council then for any single persone to advise, & it was lik enught yow uold not uenture on it. How ill this huffe was tymd M. R. letter uill shoe yow, for after my lord Cochrane had reportid that ther had 2 or 3 conventicles latly in Air, the Duke mead a dreadful representatine of Clidsdale & of conventiles ther every day round about Hamiltoune uith uich the Miliatia tristid uel & his displeasur that it was not ther setlid lookid il faworidly. The comitte this morning brought in a comissone & instructions for the comiss. of the militia in the several shysr, & a letter for the collonels, of all which yow shal haue a copie by the nixt; there is bot littel alteratione from uhat yow sent bot uhat uas nesessair. It is lik ue shal talk to morow of the uestern militia of horse, for foot it is not urgid, bot be sur the Duk shal undertake for Clidsdale or ther will be littel doune. M. R. will tell yow that both the troups & 6 companys of foot ar ordrid to lay in cledsdale till nixt council day, the 5 uho uer at Dumfris brought to lanerick & thos that uer heir to Machline, which, by the way, brok an eg in the Duk's pokket; lithkow gads ther to command, & ue are to mak instructions ready for the council to give him, & intend to tak this oportunity to catch if possible all the rebels have not acceptid of the Kings pardone & if possible to seas som ringleaders of the conventicles; ue have this day fynd a tennant for beeing at on in 200 lbs. scots, a great soume for a tennant, & ue have mead aue order for any priue council to give a warrand to any persone will undertak to tak any of the conventicle ministers & priuat assuranc of a reward shall not be wanting, ue ar one mor ingadgid to severity agains thos peopel, & ue most not spayr them, for I am affrayid they spoil with forbearanc to long; & the

treuth is the conditione of that country is not good for thought, the want of ministers, or such as can say any thing, the rune made after those canting old ons they had formerly, or such like, & there is noe better uill ever be plantid by L. F.; & the other that has the ouersight of all is soe unfixd & taks such qwams as nothing can be doun by him; it is now neir 11 a klok & yow have to long lettirs that uill ueary yow. My seruic to my lady. D. B. Adiew.

Pray hast doun ane ansuer to the counceils letter anent the Rebels & thos that have not singd the bonds, for now it is time to putt thes things in executione.

LXVI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 116.]

Yester, 26 May, 1668.

* * *

Bot now I most tell yow another story that I have from a good hand, & not befor yesterday, that the hole outid ministers have a desinge to set up & preach again in private housis uher they are, & that some have already begune. Mr. R. Douglas was namid for an as having preachid on Sunday was seavennight in Rickertoun's family, whose widow heirs noe conformist & the Church is waccant, for it seams the pretend only to doe it in the time of diwine worshi-pe, uhen ther is non in the paroshe, & after sermons uher churchis ar plantid, and this I am told coms from a dispayr they have even the soberest of them ever to be admittid to churchis, and have the mouths opind, and that they find a number of young fellows are creepid in & rune away with the peopel's hearts (of that gang), & uith it seams ther charity also, soe that they most now sett up for themselws or starve, & they say all the outid ministers in England preach soe, & tak great incouradgment from thenc, and think it

neal enought if they gather not peopel to the filds as the mad fellows doe; this is the fruits of rendring them desperat, and turning all out at one, for they have fallen thereby in a way of beeing supplied, which yow see how they maintain, and if they had be lookid to better & on by on punishid uhen they spok agains the Government, by tak a year or a half stepend from, the might have being most part reducid, bot thanks to the act of Glaskow in E. Mid. time. I thought my self oblidgid to tell yow the first surmis and beginings of evil, which I am sur neir a Bish: in Scotland knows; be thinking of it, and consider how we ar to provide from danger may be in this uay, & if yow pleas speak to the King, and if yow think to your frinds ther, for I suppose England's case is much the same.

Ther is book com out from Wowsinsin, Utricht, in defenc of Presbitery, & a paper I suppose only in uritt giveing his opinione anent heiring of conformists in this country in the negative, which is transmitted from hand to hand, & I am indeawouring to gett a copie of.

Now if yow com to Scotland, it will be a great part of your errand to see its conditione, & to consider on the plac what is fitt to be donne, how some stons of our building may gett a better bed, which ar soe layd as they shak all and will doe soe still as they lay, & when M. R. goes up he can give a full account to the King, & soe yow have to resolve on what yow will doe, for I am definit, & soe I think is M. R., that if yow come he most goe and sett yow the day uhen yow ar to come of, that he may be ther befor, bot be sur yow disapoint us not, and leave me to much adoe now uhen Bellenden is on his way.

I have now receawed letters from Will Cokburne at lanerik that they have taken 3 of thos uer in the rebellione, one forgisone,^a uho uas very bussie in kiping back others from taking the bond, & tuo others that had brok prisone befor and escapid, bot ane ree^b that the partie mead search for could not be found, bot his hows beeing

^a William Ferguson, of Lanark; was at Pentland, and was now banished to Virginia.

^b Rae.

searchid, divers arms uer found, & he beeing a smith, all tools for making arms, ther uer 6 payr of pistols & 2 carabins & balons (?) & some cast bal; his M. R. is one bleekwood who brought the comisione betwixt G. Dyel & the rebels. he will be speerd, for I have advisid Will. Cokb. to send in the prisoners.to Edenbr.

LXVII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 128.]

Yester, 30 May, 1667.

* * * * *

The danger of uhat I urot in my last concerning the ontid minis-
ters is not soe great bot that it may be preuentid if any of the
soberest uer settlid somuher in chirches uher ther uer noe danger
from them, & bot 2 or 3 at onc upon tryal of ther behaviour^a of
uich uhen I meet uith my ld St. Andrews nixt ueek uhom I have
prepard by his brother & M. R. possibly uill be uith before he com
from fyfe. L. F. is still as high as ever, taks on him a great peett
& norishith discontent by all means possible, bot I am assurid the
other uill deal roughly uith him, of uich yow may heir er long.
And I hop the last letter is notwithstanding to good purpose for I
uold putt yow on your gward, & it is best the King know the uorst
of his ouen bussnes as ueal as the best & it is to serve him faithfully
soe to doe.

My uife is your serwant & thanks yow for the accomt of young
man's teeth.^b I am affrayid I shal not be able to kip hir at hom nixt
summer unles yow and my lady will be pleasid to prewent hir by
sending home the hole family & then I hope they may be got better
diuided therafter if they hold cours as blissid be god they have
begun. I am my ladys serwant. Drst Br: Adieu.

^a The parentage of this plan has been disputed. As will be seen later Sharp is allowed to have the credit for politic reasons. It is the chief subject of the letters immediately following.

^b Grandson of Lauderdale and Tweeddale. See footnote, p. 118.

LXVIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 166.]

Edenbr: 18 June, '68.

For ansuer to yours of the 13 the drawght of the letter I promisid anent the uestern gwards may be supplyd by M. R. when he comes if yow continew of that resolutione for the taking of Bruc & som heir of the rebels that have not taken the benifit of his Maj^{tes} pardon hes soe dampd the courage of the giddie headed peopel, and the troups & foot companies continewing in the uest hes soe settlid & calmid thes countrys that I hop ther is not soe great neid of extraordinar remeidys as I then had caws to apprehend, & sinc the King is resolvid to continew both troups of gwards good reason they serve for the end they uer appointid, and as ue have brought them to live regularly & to give no caws of complaint to the country, ue most indeawour to mak them usful also, that the counceel may get the aprobatone of beeing good generals. My lord duk must now be consultid in all matters relating to thes countrys, he is become soe frank and ready to undertake for the pac of them^a he & I hes bein an hour every day together all this ueek & dinid together constantly, & ue have spoke of all the ways ue could think of, that of gwards uill be chargeable & the way to impose it difficult, for the shyre uill be bakward & ther is not the least shadow of awturity to fire them to it bot by bringing it in plac of a militia & then it most ether continew or a militia com in plac of it at lenght, &c.

The Archb. is highly pleasid u^t ganing my lord duk & uith all is down: that he uill deny nothing I desir him. M. R. Douglas was two hours with me yisternight, He mak it a littel n(?) & says he can doe the King better serwic in the conditione he now is, bot we ar to meet again on Ueddinsday nixt, and I shal have his

^a Through Sharp's instrumentality. It appears, however, from 23129, f. 197, that Lauderdale and the Duke were not yet on good terms.

final answer. The A-B : will deny me nothing concerning him & I am now about getting a blank presentation of a Kirk in Lyon for him.

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LXIX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[15120.1.121.]

Edinb. 15 June '46.

It is now 10 at night & I have not had a free moment since six in the morning & therefore must be short. MR. Michael Bone man is prison heir yister night & a testing of the women of this place to rescue him was prevented, whereof Borthwick will give you an account when he comes. He was so ill of his wounds after his journey* he could not be brought before the council to day & his friends already offer to find surty that he shal never returne to any of the King's dominions if the council will proceed noe further than to Banishment. MR. Douglas was with me yesternight & is daily advanced towards acceptance, but this morning my Lord St. Andrews giving me a wisite is lik to flee of & wander in his resolutions according to his custom, but more of this by the time.

.

LXX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[15120.1.233.]

Edinb. 3 July '46.

At night MR. Hutchisone was with me : after many large profes-

* See Watson, vol. II. p. 111.

sions of peacblenes & loyalty & dissatisfactione uith separatione ue cam to the Point in hand. I find him full as strait laced as this other. Noe presentatione nor collatione nor anything that smelt of Bishopes. The King and Parl: commandid them from ther ministry at Edenb: & he will be ready to preach uher ever the King shal command him for his deportment if he should be admittid. He gaue prettee good satisfactione & said all indeauours ought to be usid to preuent the flocking of peopel from other chirchis to hier him and that he knew the tenour of his admission wold be upon good behauior. He declarid also that for all his auersione to prelacie he desird to see noe chang bot uhat was mead by the King & authority. I represented the defficultys of effectwating any thing, & recomendid to his thoughts how to mak the work easie till next week that E. Kincardin & I doe meet.

LXXI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 213.]

Edenbr. 11 Jully, '68.

E. Kincardin tells me the general was very inqwisitie if any order was com anent forfawltid estaits, & said he daily expectid it, and that Caldvals estait was promisid him by the King at parting. The gentilman may deserve someuhat (?), bot his seruic heir in noe mans judgment exceedid his pay, besids that is the half of all the forfawltid estaits, & might suply the neesesity of diuers have bein sufferers & constant adherers to the Royal interest. I hop thes lands, if they be not sold, which uold diwid them best, uill be mor eqwaly diwidid. And I most say the of them thus uold doe a singular prejudice in mor ways bot I should think a reward & remisione mor consistent. E. Kincardin & I talkid

yesterday with M. R. Hutchisone, & can bring him no greter lenght then the other ; ue proposid that if, by the Kings special command he should be admittid to preach, then it might be upon such tearms as might prevent inconenencis of flocking to him & peopels separatione from ther ouen churchis, & that therfor the King might in the sam order prohibit him to preach to mor then his ouen congregatine, or administer the sacrament to any other, uich ue thought he might be as uéal restrand in by the magistrat as he was now from preaching at all. This propositione relishid not with him, bot in my opinione som such thing most be thought of & then mor might be admittid or the desing layd asid, least whil a stop to the runing mad of peopel is intendid, a shieisme be statid, for I am affrayed the fanatiks uold run all to them & heir noe other.

LXXIII.—ANDREW RAMSAY^a TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 215.]

MY MOST NOBLE LORD,

Edinbrugh, 11th July, 1668.

It was not my pourposse to have trouble yo^r Lo/ wth any from me at this tyme, but that I could not be wanting to give yow ane acco^t what fell out this efternoone betwixt four and fyve a cloack. My Lord Arch. Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Bishop of Orkney, goeing abroad to refresh themselves, they were waylaid by a hellish hound. My Lord St. Andrews, haveing entred the coatch, and looking out to some poore on whom he was bestowing charitie, my Lord Orkney entring the coatch, this dañ fellow discharged a pistole aimed at my Lord St. Andrews brist, but light on the Bishop of Orkneys arme. Servants and all were so damp at this suddent act that the fellow made escape without almost any notice.

^a Provost of Edinburgh.

Immediatlie I had knowledge of it, and cam to my Lord St. Andrews, and informed my self, which was as is above related, I pershewed him and tressed him which way he went, for the great haist he made caused him to be observed, for severalls said as he passed by, though not knowing what he had acted, that he rune as one guiltie of some il turne, and by all I could learne that he passed out of the Westport, and there had one attending him with a good horse, and tuke his way toward Corstorphing. I have sent horsemen from this efter him, with ane earnest desyre to him that commands the squad^e of horse belonging to my Lord Chanc^r troupe to be assisting to those sent from this to search and pershew him, and have oblidged upon honour and credit to reward them larglie that shall get him. I intend this night to make a strick shearch throw the Towne, if yet for all this he may be lurking in this place. My Lord, the fellow is non that belongs to this place, nor can this place belookid on with any worse eye because of this. Nor was there any just ground for what was reported to yo^r Lo/ at M^r Michael Bruce entrie, I would have given yow a true acco^t of it w^{ch} truelie was not worthie of the observing, But that I know the Earle of Tweddell hath done it for me; My Lord Chanc^r is at present at Moffatt wells. I have noe tyme, being late, more then to subcryb my self,

My dear Lord,

Yo^r Lo/ most humble and faithfull ser^t,

A. RAMSAY.

My Lord Orkneys wound, blissid be God, is not dangerous.

LXXIV. — 23129, f. 217. Edinburgh, July 11, 1668.
TWEEDDALE to LAUDERDALE. [Further particulars regarding the attempt on Sharp and the steps which are being taken. All

who had been concerned in the late rebellion are to be apprehended. The business of planting the churches must be given over for some time.]

LXXV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 248.]

Edenbr: 21 Jully, '68.

My Lord Duk Hamiltonne hes bein uith me since Satterday & hes bein uery cordial in all affairs ue have talkid of, is resolvid to us his outmost indeavours for settling the pac of the country. We have talkid frankly of all former abucis, & he says the caws of discontent was there uas noe other expectid bot the sam coursis uith alteratione of persons, bot now it did apear the publik pac & quiet & good of his Majesty's service & satisfying all just pretenders was intendid & he was confident it uold much allay the discontent, & told me of divers projects & calumnes industriously spread that uer all broke & belyed. Uhen ue came to toune att tuo a klok I fund by my lord adwocat that ther is som discovery lik to be mead that Joseph leermant is acknoledgd to have bein in the hous of Gray that was imprisonid, & on Wallac, uho is suspectid to be the man to have actid this vilany, & ther is another uoman discoverid uho was oftin uith them, uho it is thought can tell the person. Shoe is in prisone & uill be mead tell all shoe knows before shoe gett out. All imaginable industry is usid & payns taken to discover it: yitt the A. B: uhins still & speaks still of overturning & revolutions uich he hes filled the adwocatts head uith, & I confes I am not able to bear them all & far God's sak uhat ever MR. doe lett me have the confort of frequent advise & commands, & first uhither if Lermont may be discoverid & if he uill discover this assassine & the hole plote, uhither a remissione for life may be promisid his frinds for him, for he hes divers good brether as WSha [Wishart?] the Duks

deput uho maks the motione 2^{do} uhither ue shal follow the Rebels only as having just caws to suspect them for this outradge or extend severty to all others uho live disorderly & kip conventicles, & how far ue shal mak us of this occasione to purg this plac of ill-affectid persons; 3^{tho} uhat ue shall resolve uth the prisoners in stirling uho have not taken the bond for the pac, & I am informd have many com to see them that doe much hurt in that plac, if they shal be sent to sevrall prisons in the north, & by the way in that cas yow uold think of seperating S^r James Stewart & Cheisly 4^{tho} that ue may have som ansuer about the rebels that yitt uill be content to tak the bond & beg the benfit of his Ma^{ties} pardon if the councel may tak them of upon it, for on this conjunctur possibly many uill.

* * * * *

LXXVI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 253.]

Edenbr, 25 July, '68.

Yisterday the comittee of the councel had the toun's ansuer to the bond offerid them to sing, ther doubts uer solvid & putt to give a positive ansuer on tewsdays, which the prowost assures me shal be satisfactory, & that he has urott soe much to yow & sent the bond; the arms for the country ar now at lenght come, & I hop the militia shal goe on apac; ours in east louthian will kip the days apontid & this shir soun after. just now Will Sharp tels the Bishopis at ther meeting have pressd my lord St. Andrews much that he uill goe to court, he thinks having littel to doe except in soe far as it should rays ther credit with the peopel it uer much better if he had a call & upon that consideratione uold be content to have it & is resolvid to behave himself extraordinarie weal. yow may consider

of it, & returne ans the sooner that I gave a hint formerly thereof.
 A: Glas: is to be in toune on tewsday & som say intends for court,
 others think his ouen ueaknes uill hinder, bot that he wold have
 the Bishope of the ils employed for them all.

E. Dumfrys thanks you kindly for your remimbranc of him, bot
 uill wait a while rather then have soe smal a matter as he says it
 uill prove askid in his name. I told him he might mak us of
 another & it uas good to be takning.

I have nothing els to say & I uill not ueary yow always uith
 compleaning that I am not able to bear my burden from 7 in the
 morning till eight at night continwaly employed considering the
 interests & partys I have to goe with, & the tools to mak us of; it
 is noe desirable life, bot God blise & preserve the King. Sat habeo.
 My seruic to my lady. Dst B: Adiew.

LXXVII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
 LAUDERDALE.

[A striking statement of the condition of the country.]

[23129, f. 257.]

27 July, '68.

Sinc M. R. uent from this I haue scarce had a moments leasur to
 reflect upon the conditione of this country & the Kings affairs, bot
 have still to the best of my understanding bein using my outmost
 indeawours according to the rewls layd down to kip the country in
 bwiet & secure the publik pac; & now I most tell yow playnly
 that all our indeawours uho cordialy mind this uork without mor
 hands & mor forc will be disproportiond to the difficultys ue meet
 uith & uhich I doe forsee will occure.

For the clergy lose ther interest still mor & mor, & fall loue in
 the esteem of all persons; uhat they do for planting churchis, or

gaining of peopel's hearts, M. R. can give yow ane account, of 10 or 12 of the B: uho have bein in toune this two month, not on hes preachid.

The dissatisfyd party are irreconciliable; the soberest of them will doe nothing for qwieting the minds of the phanatiks amongst them, uho I fear ar all incorigible, & amongst them ar a uikid desperat partee, uhos principals ar held forth in Naphtali, who countinanc & receet the Rebels, & the Rebels meet in conventicles with them, & amongst a comittee of thes it seams this lait horrid attempt was contriuid, & if they uer not somuhat diwidid amongst them selws ue should have uork enought.

Ther ar besids malcontents as many as want uhat they think they deserve, uho hawing meet uith disapointments of promisis they now see could never be performd, recover som hops that in the way affairs ar manadgid it is possible they may gett at lenght, yitt ther inpatienc lays them open to tentations uich they want not from all hands.

Som look on & laugh at all, uith delit, conceaving them selws out of harm's way, have got uhat they could & ar getting still uhat is to be had & car not uhat chang or rewolutione fall out.

It is therfor nesescar, in the first plac, that publik security be better providid; for that I shal offer is that ther may be two troupes of musketoons or carabyns raysid of 50 or 60 hors a peic, uhos pay neids not be above 14*d.* or 15*d.* per diem, & ther may be neir as much abaittid of the establishment of the two standing troupes uer it bot a sixpenc from each, & from the officers accordingly; this uold mak most of it & a new abaitment of pensions may mak up the rest, they might be commandid by gentilmen uich uold caws noe envy nor emulatione considering ther qwality and pay, & yitt they might doe as much as the troupes of gentilmen soe callid. And if heirafter the King should think fitt to reduc on of the other troupes, thes tuo uold supply & doe the servic better at les charg & till the militia be settlid uich I expect in few shyrs till the spring (harvest beeing now at hand) the two standing troupes & thes two if lewied will be

few enew to secure the pac this uinter & till other means be thought of & cours is taken.

As for the affairs of the treasury & renew ther is a nesescity of mor help thought M. R. uer at hom. The Chancour can not uel attend, Bellenden is frequently sick, then they ar bot a rump quorum & som of them may be absent & out of the way as now; how in any bussnes they have comts sinc S^r Gedeon Murray's tim, rests of great moment: the E. of Crafford's comts of arrears, the Duk of the taxatione, how to state the renew aright & order its bringing in heirafter, the improvement of it by redemptioun of orkney, the cost (?) of Stirling, & Melgms great project, & buying in the Bass, the repairing the Kings housis, besids the many questions anent the defalcations, salt, the abusus in counting, as that of the duk of lenox money taken out of the country, for uich ther is cravid to be allow 19000^{lb}; soe that ther seams a nesescity of ading another & reckning the Chancour and yow as supernumerary, uho can seldom meet uith them, they uould be bot fyve, few enew considering ther bussnes & that Kincardine most have a pensione. Lett him have uork for it; he could have no les then 400^{lb}, & mak it 500, his servic to the King will be uel uorth it; help is good in all play; consider of thes things speedily, for I had uist coms to lait [?] if M. R. be not ready to com of, and thinks of staying till his neu [? nephew] com uith him, as I think he does; pray doe not delay to tak som furder cours for securing the pac & kiping thos uikid peopel in order, & if this I offer pleas not, think on som other & putt it not off.

D^r B., Adiew. Burn this.

LXXVIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 260.]

Edenbr: 30 July, '68.

Afternoon the council meet again, heard the depositions of all the prisoners about the discovery of the late wilany, by all which it seems most probable that on MR. Jams Mitchel, who passith under the nam of smal, & was forfawltid for the late rebellion, is the persone. On uoman uho uold not depon if shoe knew the persone, they haue appointid to be sent to Wirginea. Another uho uold not sucar hir knoledge wher Joseph Leermont had bein receet after the search, he hauing bein receit likways in hir ouen hous, we haue banishid the King's dominons, which is the rewl ue kip in dealing with thos uill not depon concerning that wilain or the receet of rebels. Only yisterday a rich widow was not only sent to Wirginia bot fynd in 5000^m for refusing to depone: all that ar fled out of toun for this bussness ar apointid to be sumonid befor the iustic & if they appear not to be declarid fugitive. Upon reading again the King's letter the council haue admittid thos of the prisoners rebels uho uer taken that time the trups uer in the uest for MR. Michael bruce bussness & petitiond for the benifit of the Kings pardone, to sing the bond. Ther ar bot 3 of them & the rest, uho ar about 5 or 6, to be sent to Wirginea. S^v Uilliam Bellenden^a his bussnes is determid, his frinds ar to giue bond for his remowal out of the country and that he shal not retorne uithout the King or council's leave and fyn him in 200^{lb}, alouing a precept ue had drawn therof to two woundid ministers of 1300^m. My lord stairs sone & the register his lady's daughter beeing maryed last ueek uithout consent of ther parents clandestinely in my lady murray's garden by a debouchd foolish fellow, on Mortone, who is noe minister, the council gave warrand to apprehend him & if he could not be fund to sumond & declair him

^a Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 104) mentions a report that Ballantyne afterwards undertook a design, in London, upon Lauderdale's life. See his letter, p. 127.

fugitive; if he be got it is lik he may goe to wirginea. Now in ansuer to yours: My 1^d St. Andrews is uery ueal pleasid that yow are content he com, bot says he hops to have ane ansuer of my satterdays letters before he goe, to which, though yow say the King is content he com, yitt it uill not infer a call, or draw on the charg of the iourney: it is lik he uill be as ueal naturid as yow desir, bot it uer to soun for me to speak of outtid ministers & it begins to be a questione uith me uhither ue can mak any thing of such obstinat people: he hes already inwittid Dumblain to goe up uith him & I incourage Dumblain all I can in it. Long fac writts still most uhining discontent letters, & in the last which was shoen me he advisis that they should propose to the King that thos of the Bishops uho ar unfit for that charge, or have any way miscaryed, may be removd and others putt in ther roum, & says for himself it shal not only be his offer to lay it down bot he uill beg that he may. Lord D. Hamilt. intends to catechise him, uho is now become as right as possible, & yisternight Annandail was uith me making the greatest professione could be; I dealt rondly with him as to bygons, which he could hardly ecuse bot sayrly askid pardone for, & yow know I am good naturd. As to S^r Walter Seatoun, yow shal have ane accomt befor ue part out of toune & of my lord Morton's affair, also the rest shal be to S^r Rob. My servic to my Lady & our daughter. Dst^r Br. Adiew.

LXXIX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 290.]

Yester, 17 Agust, '68.

* * * * *

The governour of Carlile is it seams our trest frind, for in stead of advertising he the notic is given contrarie way: & to serve him in

the sam coyn if yow pleas to give my lord Carlile notic of Collnel Hill's beeing on the inglish sid of the border indeaworing to rays men to fall in upon this country, you may choose, for all hops of the exceptid persons was in that supply, thinking therby to incou-radge the uhigs to rise.

I am glad yow promise to hasten the uestern militia. I uish I had the copys of the hors a post day before, & possibly I may be then at Hamiltoune, for I intend a wisit ther befor nostre fils^a returne & the sooner the better. My lord St. And: cam to me yisternight, and I again soundid him as to outid ministers, bot I find he hes noe stomak to ther coming in, & now my drums ar baitting to my randewou, & the Arch B. is to part this morning to caldstream, so Ds^t B adieu.

I got yours of the 22 with the coppes of the order for the uestern Militia, at uhich I am uéal pleasid.

LXXX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23129, f. 292].

MY LORD,

Yester, 18 Agust, '68.

Thought I neid say littel to goe in my Lord St. Andrew's company, who can informe yow fully of the stat of all our matters, yitt I can not choose bot mind yow how much ue owe to him the qwiet & satisfactiōe of the clergy, uho uer apt enought to have mead uork with the jelowsies suggestid to them, uhich by his cair & prudenc ar now qwite remowid, soe that if he & yow can fall upon some expedient for qwieting the minds of the dissatisfied with eccle-

^a Tweeddale's son, Lord Yester, married Lauderdale's only child, Mary.

siastike government this country may be rendrid as fixid & strong
for Royal interest as is the castel of Edenbrught, uherin I pray God
direct yow both, &

I am, my Lord,
Your lo/ most humble servant,
TWEEDDAIL.

LXXXI.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23130, f. 42.]

Yester, 24 7^{ber}, 1668.

Any thing that uold bring the unione on foot shall be uealcome
news, and I uold bear as much heir as yow doe ther for the chang
of the staple to have it adwancid. Oh if the King uold mind it, as
it is of importanc, & all ue doe or can is bot feending over to put of
ane evil time that most com unles that be doun : It is ueal our dis-
contents terminat in idle clatters, they will com tē an end to the
lose of thos mak & foment them : only tak heed that ane ill uilly
cow have short horns : Now I most tell yow on clash mor, that L^d
Bellenden is gon to London to lay doun his imploy ; he is gon from
this a fortnight henc & non knows wither, bot I think only to
Matoun to bwy horsis ; he said himself to S^r Alex. Frsaer that he
should heir mor of the caws of his journey heirafter.

The prowast of Edenbr : & I have talkid of a desinge to have
Edenbr : better plantid uith minesters to tak the peopel's minds of
conventicles, which ar now ueal nigh quiet in that plac : and as it
was the great art of thos desingid the lait troublers & rebellione to
have trumpets to it sounding ther, that sam politike may serve now
by putting in able men of a sund judgment to out preach the fana-
tiks, such as M. R. William Keet of Dundee, M. R. Nairn, who was
in Belton, & to have 8 churchis & as many ministers in them, every

on a congregatiōne, uheras now they have 6 churchis & 12 ministers, uherof six ar seconds ueak enought & under discouragement & noe good agreement amongst them : thes 6 seconds & 2 or three of the principals most be provided for to churchis at the King's presentatiōne, uherof som may be thes am Edenbr^r is suplyed from, & for effectwating it he is to writt to my lord St. Andrews and to yow for your assistanc: nay mor if yow hold not to it as beeing the primat's dewty to cooperat for Edenbr: quet & supply & to prevent conventicles ther : it uill not be uhining uill doe it nor holding the council to Harrouis uhilst the clergy doe nothing, he was one as much for it as any of us, bot he still fails in the executiōne of good resolves, putt M. R. on him and that as many blank presentations may com doune as uill serve turn. I doe expect my Ld St. Andr. uill com of uhen the King goes to Neumarket, & that M. R. uill com of before Novem 6 : & he most be commandid hom or I know uhat his indifferency uill turne to by means of the new laboratory.* I shal not say how unseasonably he left me nor uho was caws of it, if yee returne him fully instructid in all matters, and goduilling befor uinters done the affairs of the treasury may be putt in a conditione beter then ever they uer & as may be easily manadgid for the futtur & as to other matters the country so settlid as ue may not always be at a fighting life uith it. Many thanks to yow for the good news from beyond sea, may they grow & succed & that princ be reinstatid in his fathers roum or a better. Nostre fils uill be uith yow at that time yow appont. My service to my lady & to nostre fils, so Dst B^r: Adiew.

* Sir Robert Moray was Charles's chief companion in the laboratory ; many of his despatches of 1663 were written from there.

LXXXII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.*

[23130, f. 88.]

Edenbr: 29 Octob. '68.

* * * * *

And now I most tell yow there is a petitione contrywing from the synod the Ar. Bish: kipid at pibles, the matterials uer spok of in the sinode, bot the putting them in form left to fyve of the number & two namid to present it. I heird it was under consideratione to be transmitted to the King passing by the councel. It is to represent the griwancis of the chirch through the increas of popery & qwakarisme, the frequency of conventicles, & the not putting the laws in wigorous executione agains disorderly persons. Notwithstanding the Bishops uer desird a year agoe to bring in a list of all the papists in ther diocy not yitt reportid, & that sinc M. R. Michael bruc ther hes bein noe conventicles in the filds & noe non of them in Edenbrught sinc the magistrats undertook for the toun, & I am sure the law & awtority have much recoverid ther wigour & lustre sinc the disbanding, & unles it be meant that all the penal statuts about ecclesiastike matters should be prosecute to that hight as they uer by S^r Jams turner, I know not uhat is meant; bot if this petitione come to the councel, besids uhat may be said to this way of petitioning, I see not how it can be awoidid to re[m]imber the failings of the clergy in ther ouen matters as in planting & visiting churchis. The pakquet is ready to goe, soe Dst B^r Adiew.

* In the first part of this letter Tweeddale urges Robert Moray's return as absolutely necessary.

LXXXIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[Disposal of the prisoners.]

[23130, f. 108.]

Edenbr: 12 Novemb. '68.

My 1^d S^t And: cam to toun on Tewsday late at night & I see him nixt morning & mead an apointment in the afternone; ue uer tuo houris together; I find him a ueal pleasid man and had a large accomt of affairs, which yow may imagin fills my head uith warious reflectiones, that uich is most obuius is if ther be any talk of unione of Ireland, for God sak mak hast uith ours, for that uill cloge (?) it, and the English uill be much better disposid to yeeld many things to us that it preceed the other, for they have mor caws & uill be ready to putt many limitations upon a conjunctioun uith them; & tell me uhen it is tim to speak of it uith persons heir, for som begin already to be jelous som such thing is a brewing. This afternounge at counel the examnationes of the prisoners was reportid, & four of them uho uer left by the King to us (as not beeing forfawlt) ue have banshid the kingdomes of britaine & irland & taken them inactid never to returne u'out licenc under the payn of death & have namid the plac Tangier, for ue know non soe secure, for they may bwy ther liberty from any of the plantations. The Chancelour uill uritt of this on Satterday, & if the King be pleasid theruith it uold be inquirid uhen any ship is going thither, that they may be sent to London befor: they ar lusty men & uill uork ueal at the mole, only M.R. Chambers beeing Gatgirth's brother, & having dealt very ingenowsly, if he might be putt in any better conditione uhen ther it uer not amise. Mondrogat is reseruid for a greater condemnatioun if he doe not som servic or say mor, yitt ue shal mak ready the report of his examnatione & send it in a ueek or tuo. Yow ar lik to gett another fellow to M.R. Michael Bruc if

ue can catch him, on M.R. Jhone Uelsh, a forfault ceptid Rebel uho hes the last ueek saue on being runing about & kiping conventicles in Clidsdale, bot in housis, only on at the chirch of Camnethine about midnight, uher ther uer about 2 or 300 peopel all of the meanest comons, above 20 children christnid. I had got notic of his haunts & putt the lewtenant of the gward Mungo Muray on it, to try his hand, & he hes sent 3 partiees out in search of him this morning. I heir he is com to toun to lurk & heir he shal be lookid after. I had letters yisternight from my lord Duk & the Dutches; shoe says that shoe is so indisposid as shoe dare not hasard to com to toun befor shoe is brought to bed & the midwife is sent for; som ar fearing shoe may miscary. I pray God send better neus from hir. Your frinds heir ar uual. I am my Lady serwant D^t Br: Adiew. Pray caws remi[m]ber the King's picture for the councel chamber.

LXXXIV.—LORD BELLENDEN TO THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE.

[23131, f. 6.]

MY DEAR LORD,

Edinburgh, 5th December, 1668.

* * * * *

I shall not by this add to what the answers doeth bear, believing that your /Lo^p/ will fynd them full and clear. All the sute I shall make to yow is : that by reason of my age & great indisposition, that yow would be pleased to perswade Earle Tweeddaill to delay no longer the clearing the Thesaurer's accompts, which wer fitted in Julii last, yet by reason of his not appearing for the close of them, they remaine still as they did, no close being put to them. I shall not complaine of his want of kyndnes, and I hope that by your /Lo^{ps}/ interposition I shall have no longer cause to complaine that his justice is wanting to me. A more moderate conduct were better vpon severall accounts. If my failings have caused the harshnes

that I meet with in his /Lo^{ps}/ practise, let it be as publick as he pleases, and certainlie I shall not fear to answer it. This friedome I never thought to have had occasion to have used to your /Lo^p/, I am affrayed it will displease yow, but be pleased to remember that the kyndnesses I have received from yow wer not upon the solicitations of any, but did flow from your immediat goodnes & friendship, and my acknowledgments of them have not been conducted by the advyse of any, but from a most thankfull heart, that shall never be wanting to yow so long as I am in being. I begg the continuance of yo^r /Lo^{ps}/ favour & justice, untill that my failings may justlie depryve me of that happienes, it being my greatest satisfaction (next my duety to His Majestye) still to be owned by your /Lo^p/ as truely I am, My dear Lord,

Your /Lo^{ps}/ most humble and most faithfull servant,

BELLENDEN.

[*N.B. only signed.*]

LXXXV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[33131, f. 30].

Edenb^r, 12 Decemb. '68.

* * * *

L^d Bell. calls to the register & falls a talking at an insolent & impertinent rate the particulars wherof he uould not repeat bot only that he was affrontid & matters caryed in dispit of him to his fac, that it had bein inqwird after if he had giuen warrand for giueing out this signatour to accuse him for it, and then fell a suearing & railing at a prodigious rate, Hectoring & threatning stiking & goring after his manier & as he usis with his underlings.

* * * *

LXXXVI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23131, f. 103.]

Edenb. 2 March, '69.

To comfort us now in the croud of affairs w^{ch} necessarily attends the end of a session, wee are allarum'd from the west of the dayly encrease of Conventicles, & withdrawing from the church, & that it is groune to that height that those who were lookt upon formerly as sober persons have now broke out into these disorders, & that not only upon Sundayes, but all the dayes of the weeke, they have avowed conventicles through most of that disaffected part of the contrie. This puts us quit from thinkeing of any thing els, & when wee have thought our best wee know not what remede to use, for that which wee resolve upon one day, new emergents make us change our opinions of it the nixt. Yet ere wee part I doubt not wee shall put things in that order that no hurt shall arise from that hand to any but that foolish crew who can never be satisfied nor quiet. It is very probable that this generall attempt is a thing designed by the whole party, & before it broke out wee hade intelligence of it. It hath been encouraged by the generall report there is here of the avowdnes of conventicles in England & Irland,* & they fancy to themselves that by rendring themselves considerable in their numbers & obstinacie they will in the end gaine either a totale change, or a tolleration. What truth is in the reports from England & Ireland I know not, but if there be slackning of the reignes there it will be hard for us to hold them strait here. And

* This is asserted also by Tweeddale in a letter of Feb. 23, 1669, and still more emphatically on March 13. He says, " I know not if I told you that I had intelligence from the west that the starting up to preach and conventicle was upon information given by some ringleader to all the party that it was now fit to try if the State would suffer that liberty was given in England, and that therefore some fell a preaching who never had done it before."

whatever be the resolution it will not be fit that an insolent party gaine by their being so, for then wee shall never be at an end till all be overturned. I am, in my privat opinion, for a qualified toleration, but I wold have it given & not taken ;* & I thinke it is not to be given so long as they thinke themselves so considerable as to oblige the grantting of it. Sunday last wee hade one here, w^{ch} made some noise because the information was that Welsh of Carnelee (?) & some other rebells were at it, & that We[l]sh the rebelle preached at it, & when the magistrats sent to seize upon them they kept the doore fast, upon which the magistrats thought they hade no warrand to breake open doores & so stayed so long that most of all escaped by passages through other houses. Yet so many are gotten as cleare that the preacher was one Hume, & that the Conventicle was not above 20 people, whereof 13 or 14 women, & that there was no armed men amongst them, which frightened the magistrats from breaking open the doors, nor can wee learne anything to make us suspect that any rebells were present. Wee hade the magistrats before the councell to day & intimated to them the forfaultour of their bond, w^{ch} wee thought hade been 100 lib. for evry conventicle, but upon reading of it wee did find it to be only 50 lib. so wee ordered them to pay it to morow to W. Sharpe, & though the summe be but smale, yet if it were rigourously put in execution it might prevent the noise of them at least in this toune. A Diew.

* This is the tone consistently used by Kincardine, who was a man of the highest capacity, as well as of exceptional political integrity.

LXXXVII.—SIR W. BALLANTYNE^a TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23131, f. 117.]

MY LORD,

Parise, March 26, 1669.

It is not that I am in the least guiltie (as I wish god to have mercie off my sowle) off entertaining any thoght prejudiciall to yowr Lo^{ps} person that occasioned my retirement, bot the protestationes I made off my innocency not being satisfactorie, and the feare I had to fall under your Lo^{ps} recentments, forced me to that resolution. At present, so soone as I can dispatch my selfe, I intend to som place where I may have the occasion to ffollow armes till your Lo^{ps} displeasor be removed ; hoping such is yowr justice yow will not desire without cawse utterlie to rowine a poore gentleman whoe is willing to bee,

My Lord,

Your Lo^{ps} most faithfull and humble servant,

W. BALLANTYNE.

LXXXVIII.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23131, f. 123.]

Canogate, 6 Apr: '69.

I thinke I need not tell yow that E. Tweeddale is on the mending hand because I suppose yow have it particularly from himself or his Lady. Last night I had a letter from my Lady telling me of it, w^h I assure yow was very welcome news to me, for I hade

^a See footnote, p. 166. For his death, see Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 104.

been sadly allarm'd that he was dangerously sicke ; wee have hade much missing of him to-day at councell, though there was not much busines before it. Yet the bringing in of 10 outed ministers & 7 rebells, being the first effects of the late orders of councell for quieting the westcontrie, hade need be well managed, & there are many humours to be considered in the management of it. All was done at councell concerning this affaire was to committe it to L. Cochran, L^d President, Register, Advocat, & my self, & wee have been from 4 till 8 a cloke examining them. I wish wee had met with such as hade been more deeply guilty to have begunne with. They are of two sorts, publique resolutioners & remonstrators ; the first are generally very discreet men, and declare that they have never keepeed any conventicles in the fields nor any where but in their oune families, & that they have constantly indevoured to hinder any body from being present with them except those of their families till of late, that they were told that in England & Ireland there was great indulgence used to those of their opinions & so were perswaded to suffer som to hear them ; that they have never baptised any children since they were outed, that they have frequently kept church in the parishes where they live, and for the future they promise that they will study to live inoffensively, & rather that they find that what they have done hath given offence to authority, w^h they were hopfull should not have been so ill taken. They profess a great abhorrence of rying in armes and that whatever hardships it hath pleased God to make them suffer, yet their hearts have not nor shall not swerve from their duety to his Ma^{tie} & the Lawes. Those of the remonstrator judgement, who I thinke were only two, seeme to be more moderat then ordinarily those of that judgement are, yet they acknowledged a more constant & a more open keeping of conventicles than the other did, & one acknouledged the baptising of a fue children of his oune parish in the tyme the church was not planted, but that since the church was planted he hath absolutly forborne it ; they talket lykewise in such maner as that wee could find little hopes from them they wold forbear for the future. Upon

the whole matter I wish none of these had been brought in at this tyme, for those that were most guilty have kept themselves out of the way & these that expected little hurt stayd at home to be catched. It was a humour of L. Cochran's to send them in; they offred to promise to live quietly for the future, but nothing would satisfie but that they should give bond. Those that have made all this noise are itinerants that go from place to place in disguise, & preach & baptise where ever they go, & they can neither be catched, nor can wee yet learne who they are. Thursday morning the councell is to meet again, & it is lyke they will dissmise the better sort of the ministers with a severe certification in case they be found in another fault, & upon bond to appeare when they shall be called for; for the others it will be harder; but those of the committy were talking of confining them to some place, and allowing them some maintenance, because they are not able to live if they be taken from their freinds; by this, haveing them bound to appeare, wee shall have the better opportunity to dispose of them in case the resolution take of w^h I suppose E. T. hath written to yow. The seavn rebells wee examined & find them to be most miserable ignorant fellows, two of them are willing to take the bond for the peace, one denyes he was in the rebellion, & one was a boy with his father & offers to give his oath that he hade no armes, & is content to take the bond. Wee did meet in the treasury to-day for ordering precepts for the payment of the forces, & there wee ordered the writing to the great seale of S^r W. Seaton's discharg that it may be ready to be sealed as soon as it shall be past in exchequer. To morow the two commissions for the sale of the forfaulted estats & for the auditing of accompts are at the seals. E. T. sent me them last night not being sure the chancelour was in toune, & I carryed them immediatly to the chancelour. I am affrayd this shall be too late, and therefore I shall say no more but A Diew.

LXXXIX.—THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23131, f. 165.]

MY LORD,

29 May, '69.

I did with much joy take of this ring, which I pray god may prove a succesfull meanes to presarve Her Ma^{ty} from miscaring, that we may have the blessing of a young Prince, which I dare say no subiect, not your selfe, wisshes for with more passion then luse,

My Lord,

Your Lo^ps humble sarvant,

HAMILTON.

I wore the ring betwne my bresta.

XC.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23131, f. 186.]

Edenb. 17 June, '69.

Though no body here knowes for what end the part^t is to be called, yet there is a generall satisfaction in every body at the news of it, when they heare that the Earle of Lauderdaill is to be Commissioner, & for my oune part, besids my share of this common joy as a good countriman, I assure yow it is not a smale addition to it that by that means I shall have the happynes to see yow in the land of cakes. The two ArchB^ps & D. Hamilton are come to toune, but I do not find the noise of the conventicles increased since their arivall. E. Dumfreis sent his excuse, and before the councell did meet the committy hade the provest Cuningham of Aire before them, he was sent for expresse to bring information of

the true condition of that contrie. But all he told was that he heard of only two conventicles in the whole shyre of Aire, at both wh^h there was very many children baptised, but that they were itinerants that preatched at them. And being asked concerning these ministers that were lately before the councell, he told that he heard nothing at all of them, but that since their being before the councell they had lived very quietly. I have not yet spoke with the B^p of Glasgow, because he came but to day to toun. In councell he made no new complaints, only gave an accompt of his obedience to the orders of the committie in citing six of these that were at the conventicle in Glasgow. D. Ham: tells that his contrie is no otherwise then it was, but I find all the informations run that E. Dundonald's shire of Renfrew is the only place in which the conventicles have been more then usually they were before. All that the councell did upon the matter was to approve of the committie's actings, & to adde the two A. B^{ps}, D. Ham., & L. Leigh to the committie. E. Athole, Pearth, & Tullibardin being come to toun for giving security for the peace of their interests in the Highlands because of some scruples they have at the bond as it is conceived, there is a committy appoynted to conferre with them about it & to receive their bands. Now I am upon this subject I must tell your lo^p that I am informed from very good hands that it is designed by those who are ennimies to our quiet in the present postur of affairs, that the Highlands shall be this summer very loose, & that the loose people of these parts are encouraged to make great preparations of parties for theefing. I did write of this formerly to E. Tweeddale that he might bring with him a letter from the King recommending to the councell very pressingly the looking well to the keeping the Highlands quiet. Without this I feare wee may fall slacke, & since I did write to E. T. I have receaved further information, wh^h makes me much more apprehensive of the disorders of the Highlands then I was. I wish E. A.^a

^a Athole.

hade been kept in expectation of his reward till the tyme of theefing hade been over, that he might have been the more active to keep his contrie in order. I say this to your self. Capt: Barklay is sent to the tolbooth & fined in ten thowsand merks for a very insolent ryot in carrying away of an old man, upon whom he hade designs, for the signing of some papers concerning his pretensions to the estat of Towie; the particulars wold be tedious to tell yow. It is for examples sake that he is fined in such a summe, for it is not thought he will be able to pay it. Last councell day there was a stop put to the admission of one to the Church of Pencatland, who was presented by the King, the stop was upon a petition in the name of the V. of Oxenford, who hath a right to that patronage from the K. AB^p St And: seemd to be very ill pleased at the stop as an ineroatchment upon the privileges of the Church, but he was satisfied afterwards to undertake that no further procedor should be in the matter till it were decided who hade best right, and so the stop was taken off. I can remember of no more that was done worth your notice, and I have not tyme to tell stories. God give yow joy of your Grace^a when yow come to it.

A Diew.

XCI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
TWEEDDALE.

[23131, f. 190.]

Edenb: 22 June, '69.

I have this day receaved E. T. letter in ansuer to that of mine w^h gave the first allarum of the conventicling in the west, But by the letters that I did write since yow will find that the allarum is not so hot as it was at first, & that the actings of the councell did not make appeare that they did take it hotly.

^a The coming Dukedom? Lauderdale received it in 1672.

There are designes to have these things make great noise at this tyme, but they have not yet taken, & I hope shall not, for it begins to be remarked. And as upon that hand there is designes for clamour & exasperations, so I am confidently told & do beleve that these fellows that have kept the conventicles w^h have occasioned all this noise designe lykewise the heightning of things, to drive the counsell to severity that so things may continue still in disorder, that they may fish in troubled watters. For they are conscious to themselves of so much guiltynesse, that what ever be the indulgence his Ma^{tie} may graunt to others they can hope for no share of it. Thursday nixt there are some ministers to appeare before the counsell, and then it is lyke I shall be able to lett yow know more of the truth of that whole affaire then hitherto any body could, for reports are still so various that it is very hard to know the truth. There was an overture fryday last at the Committie that all ministers that are guilty of keeping conventicles shall be made prisoners till either by themselves or by some friends who will be surety for them bond be given that they shall keep no more conventicles. It is like this may take in counsell, and truely I thinke it shall give terrour, and is very legale. I have told my Lord Chancelour, that upon occasion of my writting the stories wee have related in counsell concerning the west, that E. T. hade proposed some remedies which your lo. does approve of, but wee both thinke the case different now from what it was at first represented, & therefore that it were to make too much noise to send any forces thither since there is no feare of the peace of the contrie.

* * * * *

Mens conjecturs of the occasione of the ensuing Parliament are according as their fears or hopes prompt them; generally people hope very well from it, but the rich men feare their purses, evry body lands a new occasione of his oune.

Though I beleve E. T. hath talkt largely with yow of all things relating to the Parl^t, yet least he may have forgot to put yow in mynd of some small things I thinke it not amisse to tell yow, that

there is but one cloath of State worth being seen, yow know that w^h was in the Parl^t house is a most pitifull one. I wish there were a handsome one prepared, and it is tyme to beginne. The King hath no furniture for his palace of Halirudhouse. Your lo^p may remember that E. Midleton got 6000 lib. to buy furniture, & that at E. Rothes being com he was ordered to leave the rooms of state furnished, for w^h he did write a letter to his lady. But my Lady Rothes being unwilling to medle in that affaire desyrd the King's wardrobers to aske for that furniture, w^h when they did Lady Midleton ansuered that she was only to give it to Lady Rothes upon her recept & oblidge to restore it againe, w^h my Lady Rothes being unwilling to do, choose rather to borrow furniture then be ingadged in such a manner. This accompt I hade to day from my Lady Rothes, & I think it worth your knowledge. I did write to E. T. concerning the repairing of the rooffe with leade, which is now only covered with pitched bords & is impossible to keep water tight. 250 or 300 lib. will do it. Your wife's & my husband's appartment is concerned much in this, for the late rains have almost undone all that was lately done to it, being plaster. Yow may see by this letter that I am at too much leasur to trouble yow. Wee have not yet falne upon our troublesome businesse, but in the session end we are like to have enough, for to day wee have taken in E. Crawford's accompts, and are to fall to it to morow. There is some doubts concerning the commission of accompts, of w^h your lo^p may have an accompt shortly. A Diew.

The committy appoyntid to meet with the Earles of Athole, Pearth, & Tullibardin, could not persuade them to signe the bond for the peace of the Highlands, but desyred them to waite upon the council thursday nixt, though they were desyrous of a much longer day. I fear much the Highlands this summer, but when SS. comes I hope that affaire shall be rigourously gone about. I assure yow it needs it.

XCH.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[Examination of Conventiclers. Plan suggested for ridding the Highlands of thieves.]

[23131, f. 192.]

Edenbr: 24 June, '69.

I have receavid E. T^s. letter of the 19th, & because it seems to be written by your lop^s advice, & that I thinke he is not lyke to be with yow when this shall arive, I think it fit to adresse the ansuer to yow. And first I shall tell your lop that I have always written as things were represented in councell. And I have never knoune any thing talkt of with more clamour then these conventicles in the west were talkt of in the beginning, but nothing being then proven the councell was not willing to make too much noise of it, especialy considering that E. D^d. was the only author. Therefor there being hardly a quorum of the councell in toun, and being incertaine what might fall out, it was thought fit to send for the councellours that were not at too great distance, especialy such as could give best information of these affairs, as D. Hamilton, ABp. Glasgow, & E. Dumfreis, without telling them any other thing but there was affairs of importance to be considered, & why this should be thought an occasion of more noise then the sending of troops into these parts I cannot understand. I am sure it hath made no noise, and now when the busines comes to be tryed it is lyke to prove the most inconsiderable occasion of talking that hath been these 7 years. To-day in councell the persons cited by the A. Bp. for that conventicle he complained of to have been kept in Glasgow were called, 2 appeared, the rest wee found not duely cited. The two that appeared were poore & simple fellows, both protested they never hade been at any conventicle before, that they were sorry for their haveing been at that, & that they were willing to ingadge them-

selves never to be at any conventicles for the future.^a Upon the signing of which declaration & engadgment publicly at the barre they were dismiss. It is resolved by the councell that whatever ministers shall be found guilty of keeping conventicles shall be kept in prison till they give bond to do so no more, beside being otherwise punished according to their faults. A. B^p. St. Andrew, who seemd to approve of this overture at the committie, quarreled much against it as an incouragement to conventicles, but after some nipping ansuers he was content to come off with the addition of the last words, viz.: besids being otherwise punished, &c. He & his brother knows not what they wold be at, they complaine to evry-body in privat, of dangers & feares, but instance no particulars, nor say any thing in publique. Some others that were cited by order from D. Hamiltoun did not appeare, upon which they are ordered to be denounced & apprehended. E. Athole & Tullibardin are gone out of toune without giving any security for the peace of their contries, & by their friends desyr a long delay till Agust, but the councell hath only graunted a fortnight; E. Pearth stayd in toune at the committie's desyre & I thinke will give bond ere he go away. That affaire of the Highlands is not in good prospect; from all hands wee are told of the threatnings of the theefs to breake out & from some parts wee are advertised of depredations already & it is generally reported that great men foments this. I long extreemly for E. T., for till he come wee shall get nothing done to purpose. And if he were here I hope wee shall hammer out a proposition which hath been made to me by Fordie in w^h E. Argyle hath a hand, w^h I thinke will do the busines to purpose. It is this, that there shall be a privat gentleman found who shall be bound to refund the thift or produce the thief, who shall be bound lykewise to produce deade or alive all the theefes of the Highlands according to a list to be given him, w^h will be easily made exact. And who shall serve

^a There are many things in "Old Mortality," besides this original of Cuddie Headrigg, which make it almost certain that Scott had seen many of these letters.

thus for one yeare without any condition but what the counsell shall please after the proof of his service. By this means the contrie should be rid of that brood of theefes for a tyme ; but last yeare the theefes were only quiet because they were imployed to keep the rest from stealing, & for that hade great liberties allowd them, & besids many thifts were not complaind of because they wold not offend the person who was ansuerable for them, being too great for such an imployment.^a A Diew.

XCIII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 111.]

Whitehall, 6 Oct. 69.

[Has made a note for the King of the heads of the "new unchristned Remonstrance calling itself a Testimony and Ressents, that look so like the spirit of rebellion."^b The King is very angry with this "mutinous libell against his M^{ties} goovernment." He goes on thus on the following day, Oct. 7:—]

7 Oct.

It is now just 12 & I am going to dine that I may wait upon the king when he hath done with his, having employed this morning an hour or two to enlarge those heads I shew the king yesterday & make some reflections upon them. Wherein I have let myself go as the strain of the damned paper led me. I have not spared it at all. But if perhaps you may think I have criticised too sharply in some

^a This and similar passages should be borne in mind in the consideration of events like the Massacre of Glencoe. See Macaulay *in loc.*

^b For this paper, put forth by the Synod of Glasgow, presided over by Alexander Burnet, see Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 143, and Appendix to this volume. Lauderdale's reflection upon it (p. 141) is, "They will be Remonstrators by what name or title soever they are distinguished."

places, yet from the whole you will see the nature of the paper to be such as deserves the utmost severity. Insomuch as I incline to think the Archb. & his whole synode, at least all that command in it, ought to be deposed & banished, if not worse. But the state of things requires consideration & I delay what more is to be said of it till I receive the king's commaunds, onely I take this to be the greatest ignominy that ever Episcopall governem^t fell under since the Reformation, to go no higher. And shewes that it must be much better mannaged to be a support to Monarchy or a pillar of Religion. I need not enlarge on this copious theme.

It was full 5 a clock before I had the opportunity of speaking with the king. I found him as vehement against this libell as I was. I have worded his expression according to his own minde, that is leaving you at liberty to speak to the Archb. before the Council day or after, onely he inclining that you do it in private, yet even in that you are at liberty, as also you may examine other witnesses, & burn the paper & record publickly if you think meet. And you see he leaves as litle burthen upon you as to your opinion in the matter as you can wish, though he thinkes it best to have measures of it from thence which you know how to afford him. You will think it meet to acquaint the Council with his hearty approbation of what they have done. Though I know not how they omitted to give him notice of it publickly. For SS. did not tell me he was enioined to do it. Of this you know what use to make. And as to his last commaund, he forsees that he may take some such course with L. F. as will make a noise. But he doth not value what the one party fear nor what the other hope, since under God's favor he thinkes the peace secure by the Militia, the standing forces, the magazine, & the monney in the Castle. This for the first is pretty prolix. I thought fit to send you these strictures, though I think if you let anybody see them it will be fit the advocate file them over. I shall do well enough to speak the morrow of them, for I have no copie, to morrow to the Duke & the Archb. of C., to whom the King hath commaunded me to

show the paper. He did it to with fervor, and observed, which I did also with a regret, that this damned paper shewes Bishops & Episcopall people are as bad on this chapter as the most arrant Presbyterian or Remonstrator. I do now wellcome you to Yester, where I guess will finde you, & pray God to direct & bless what you have in hand, & so bid you

Adieu.

You are also at liberty to make the examinations in publick or otherwise.

XCIV.—THE EARL OF ARLINGTON TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 113.]

MY LORDE,

Whitehall, Octob. 12, '69.

This is only to comply wth my promise to y^r lop at y^r leaving y^e Court that you should heare sometimes from me, especially if there happend any thing or alteration in y^t greate businesse y^r lop is soe particularlie now charged wth all.^a His Ma^{ty} hath reviewd often what was agreed upon here wth you, but hath made noe change in it, w^{ch} I told him I would write to you by this nights post, that y^r lop might goe steadily on in that kingdome upon y^e same measures.

Wee are now wthin a verrey few dayes of y^e Parlim^t meeting, and y^e coniectures of the temper it will probably bee in are as vaine as y^e humours of those that make them are ; soe till y^e triall bee made nothing can bee positively saide upon it. But as it approaches wee have still more groundes to apprehende the dispute will be

^a This, I think, refers especially to the formation of the new militia, to which Charles was undoubtedly looking, in a somewhat indefinite way, as possible support to him against his English subjects. See the following letter. The more entire subjection of the Church is possibly also included in the "greate business."

quickly awakend betwixt both howses in S^r John Barnardiston's case, especially since y^e booke in vindication of y^e priviledge of y^e lordes came out in print, w^{ch} my lord Hollis sayes he neither ownes nor disownes.

As for all other newes, I leave it to y^r lop^s other correspondents, especially I having such a share in it myselfe, and will ende y^r present trouble by subscribing my selfe here,

My lorde,

Y^r lop^s most aff^{to} and most humble servant,

ARLINGTON.

XCV.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.

[23132, f. 115.]

Halyrudehous, 12 Oct^r, 1669.

My journey and arrivall hither are not worth yo^r trouble because they signifie nothing but in so farre as may be usefull to yo^r service. Yet Ro: Moray may tell yow the particulars. I must onely give yow ane account of yo^r militia. In little more then threttie miles I have seen six regiments of foote in very good order & well armed, & five troupes of hors; The Duke of Buccleuch's first, who was very well, both officers & sogers, & not a blew cap^a amongst them. His troupe was very well, but the Lord Newbottle's was the best mounted that ever I saw Militia troupe. The Earle of Roxbrough's regiment were good men & weell armed, but all blew caps, & the officers not to brag of. The Earle of Home's was every way well, & the Lord Yester's yet better. The militia regiment of this citty was very well. But if the militia regiment of this Shire had not been mine, I wold say they looked best because all, both musket and pikemen, were in blew coats lined with white, w^{ch} made a good shew. Those six regiments yow may depend on to be ready to march when & whither yow please: And thogh I

* The blew bonnet was the headdress of the common Scotch soldiers of the Covenanted time, such *e.g.* as crossed the border in 1640. Buccleuch's guards were probably mounted with steel headpieces.

hope yow shall not need them, yet it is not amiss to have such a body ready.^a I shall doe my best to quicken the rest of the kingdome. The Coñmissioners for the Parl^t^b are, I heare, well-chosen, but I cannot yet send their names. This week wilbe spent in preparation to the Parl^t, of w^{ch} I hope yow shall have a good account. This day I receavd yo^r coñmands by Ro: Moray concerning the insolent impertinent glasgow paper: That countrey is un-luckie, it seems they wilbe remonstrators by what name or title soever they are distinguisht. I have already got the originall paper into my hands, which differs not from what Ro: Moray shew yow. I shall examine it, & by good advice doe what shalbe judged best for yo^r service and give yow a speedy account of it.

I know not how usefull I may be, but I am sure none living ever can indeavour to serv yow with more faithfullness & kindness. Yo^r coñmands last time I was heir makes me write in this forme, for all yo^r coñmands are to me above all human lawes. This is all the trouble yow shall have at this time.

I beg that yow will say something to me of what was my last and onely sute.

XCVI.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.

[23132, f. 121.]

Halyrudehous, 19 Octobr, 1669.

By the last post I presumed not to give yow any trouble. The matter was not worthie of yow, yet I gave Ro: Moray ane account of it, By w^{ch} yow might know yow was exactly obeyd, w^{ch} I hope is no news when I have the honor of any trust from you.

This day in obedience to yo^r coñmand the Parl^t did ride wth the

^a This formed the main ground of the threatened impeachment of Lauderdale. See Parl. History, vol. iv. See Lauderdale's letter for Nov. 16.

^b To conduct negotiations for the proposed union.

ordinary solemnity, & there was a great appearance of Lords & 8 of yo^r Bishops. After prayers by the B^p of Dumblane (for I wold not have the Presbyterian trick of bringing in Ministers to pray & tell God almighty news from the debates) I produced my Co^mission & had it read, Then were the rolles called & the Parl^t fenced (as we call it heir). This was contrarie to my Lo: Middleton's practise who suffered the Parl^t to be fenced before yo^r Co^mission was read, w^{ch} was not for want of ignorance, for sure yo^r Co^missioner ought to produce his Co^mission, without w^{ch} heir can be no Legall Parl^t: After w^{ch} was twice read, and then I deliverd yo^r further pleasure in ane ill speech of w^{ch} I send to Ro: Moray a true copie. It is not worthie of yo^r sight, yet ane account shalbe truely sent of what I doe either say or act That you may punish me If I doe amisse. The nixt thing was the tendring the Oath of Allegiance to all the company, and I swore it for company, for I did declare I owed yow more allegiance than the meanest member. The nixt thing was the signing the declaration by all the members, the declaration I meane against the Covenant, w^{ch} was cheerfully done without any shadow of contradiction. Then I adjourned the Parl^t till the Articles were chosen, of whom Ro: Moray hath a List. If they be amiss blame me, for I wrott the Lists and not a man was altered. There were indeavors to have delayd the Articles till some controverted elections were determined, but I cut that debate short. For it wold have made 3 dayes delaye & I meane in Less time to send yow by ane express the resolution of the Parl^t to leave the nomination of the Co^missioners to yow for treating the Union. To morrow the Articles shall meet both before & afternoone, As also on thursday morning. The Parl^t is adjourned till thursday afternoone & then I hope to see finished what yow co^manded as to the Union. Pardon this scribble, I was never so wearie. But so Long as I Live I shall never wearie to serv yow as becomes

Yo^r creature.

XCVII.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.

[Regarding the proposed Union, and the asserting of the King's power in Ecclesiastical matters.]

[23132, f. 123.]

Halyrudehous, 22 8^{ber}, 1669.

You had an account of the first dayes proceeding in Parl^t, give me Leave now to trouble yow with the rest. On wedensday morning we met at the Articles, where I proposed the wryting a Letter to yow by w^{ch} yo^r proposalls might be accepted, and an humble offer made to yow of the nomination of the Co^mmissioners, their number, Quorum, & the time & place of treatie. After some debate It was agreed by an unanimous vote that the nomination should be humbly offerd to yow (for there lay all the debate). Then I adjourned the Articles till thursday morning And I named a Co^mmittee to draw the Letter, who met that afternoone. Yesterday morning the Co^mmittee met at my chamber & agreed the Letter. And at ten a clock we met in the Articles & voted the Letter unanimously, to be offerd to the Parl^t: Yesterday in the afternoone the Parl^t met. I had information that there had been caballing againat the Letter, especially against Leaving the nomination to yow, so I resolved to suffer the humor to evaporat. Some spoke smartly against it, As if we went too fast before it were knówen what the Parl^t of England wold doe, That the kingdome was not satisfyed with an union (and indeed great paines have been taken to alarum all sorts of people against it), And that if we went that length at first We should seem too fond of an union, Divers went on at that rate. And many desired a delay. I knew it could have been caryed cleirly, but I choosed rather to grant a delay, so, having heard all the debates patiently, I rose up^a & consented to a delay, & having snubbed some who talked impertinently upon the terms of the

^a In a great passion, according to Mackenzie.

union, Especially one who talked of the succession to this Croune,^a if (as God forbid) yo^r family should faile. I adjorned the Parl^t till this day at ten a clock, And appointed that every member who pleasd should see the Letter in the Clerk's hand. This day the Parl^t met at ten in the morning where after a faire debate of two houres The Letter was put to the vote And without any alteration unanimously agreed to without one No excepting one Lawyer.^b The Letter I doe humbly offer to yow. It is signed by yo^r Chancellor in name of the Parl^t, w^{ch} is the usuall forme, And by it I hope yow will finde yow are exactly obeyd in all yow co^mmanded to be indeavored at this time as to the Union. I did expresly avoyd the offering a draught of a Co^mmission, becaus it wold have looked like a preingaging your Parl^t there and wold have occasiond debate and delay heir, But whatever Co^mmission is agreed on there shall I hope easily pass heir. And assoone as yow give me notice what numbers & of what quality are like to be agreed to there, Yow shall receive ane humble advice as to the persones who those whom yow trust in yo^r service heir Thinke fittest to be the Co^mmissioners for this kingdome, And it is in my humble opinion necessary that a Co^mmission be first agreed there, England is the more powerfull nation, It is fit they first agree as to the powers of the Co^mmission, &, we having made so great a step at first, It is reasonable they make the next step. But above all get the nomination in England, Els I shall despaire of the succes, & they have now a faire example.

The next thing I intend is the more cleir asserting of your powers in Ecclesiastick matters then formerly it hath been.^c It is now onely full in the narrative of the act, but most pittifull in the statutorie part, whither by ignorance or designe I shall not judge, but it shall by God's grace be helped now. Sure I am nothing can secure

^a Hamilton: The Hamilton family pretended to be next to the crown of Scotland, if the succession of King James should fail.

^b Mackenzie.

^c See Lauderdale's letter for Nov. 16.

Episcopacie Like it in this kingdome & nothing so fitt for yo^r service every way. In order to it, I have adjoined the Articles till monday morning, In the meane time some good fellowes will draw the act w^{ch} shalbe prepared for the Articles, And on twesday morning the Parl^t shall meet. Of this yow shall have ane account & then we shall in expectation of yo^r co^mmands goe on with what in obedience to yo^r co^mmands is to be done for the concerns of Scotland. Pardon this trouble from

Yo^r owne creature.

Pardon me againe to put you in minde of my onely sute at parting; I trouble yow not often, I hope yow will not refuse what I so heartily beg. This Last is onely to yo^r self.

XCIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 127.]

Whitehall, 22 Oct. '69.

After my laudable custome of writing as dogs piss in the snow, I begin now to answer your last of 16, and will be adding to what I say now in my dribling manner till to-morrow, God assisting, that the packet be ready to part. Soon after the arrivall of the packet the King came into the laboratory.^a I deliverd him your letter which he read, & then the Act of the Council, and when he had read that too I askt how he liked what you have done, & he said "Very well." Then I shew him the originall paper & the depositions of the witnesses, & after some litle notes I made upon L. F.^b &c. he said no more, but, with a severe brow, "he is a fool." I observed to him also severall things out of the papers, & told him what I had from E. K. of the M. of Douglas's charter & the riding & sitting of the parl^t. So our converse on what this packet brought ended.

^a Robert Moray was a skilled chemist. In his correspondence with Kincardin during 1658-60 he describes how he is relieving the weariness of exile by making chemical experiments on a large scale.

^b Alexander Burnet. Longifacies, or Long Nez, as Bellenden called him.

jurisdiction of the peers will hold Tug (?), & till that be at an end it is like they will not condescend upon the paym^t of the Kings debts, concerning which they will finde so much worke as may run out to a vast length ; especially since the accounts come to be considered as a peece of the business. What the King resolves I shall say after I have spoke with him.
 (This was a passage I should have said to S. S. about his letter).

I have spoke with the King. He sayes he will write to you by the next poste (so doth the Duke). As to the bussiness of the Union hee will speake with the Duke, the L. Keeper, &c. about the putting the houses upon the hastning of it, but in the mean time thinkes fit the letters come forth in print, which will be to morrow. I told him that it seemes by the methode the house followes it may be a moneth before they come to the Union, &c. which he sayes he will prevent. If I can get the signatures dispatcht against next poste I will.

Here another member of the House of Commons did interrupt me and confirms my coniecture of their slowness in proceeding, & that it will be at least a moneth before they come to talk of the Union. He told me also that he was this afternoon at the Committee for the Bill, & that whereas before when it was voted it mentioned onely estates & goods, they have added life, liberty, & all corporall punishments; that is, the lords are not to meddle with them *in prima instantia*. And for ought I hear they will not bate an ace. I hear also that a noble peer made a motion yesterday for a Committee of safety, but that he was exploded. This is all now. Adieu.

CII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 133.]

Whitehall, 28 Oct. '69.

When I wrote last I left diverse things untoucht because I was not ripe in them as now I am. I said nothing of the names to be in commission for the Union nor of an alternative in case the Parl^t here be not brought to enter upon the Union in a great while. I have since spoke with the King twice or thrice & with the L. Arlinton & S. T. Clifford together. The King hath not as yet spoke with the L. Keeper, &c. about the way of moving the houses to dispatch the business of the Union as in my last I told you. If I remember right, he said he would: he did yesterday & iust now before I sate down to write say it again: for I represented to him the inconvenience of the parl^t of Scotlands sitting long fully enough, & then spoke of an expedient in case the parl^t here delay it too long, which S. T. Clifford helpt me to, which is that if after an attempt to bring the houses to dispatch the matter of the Union it be found they put it off too long, then (if it be not found inconvenient when you have well considered it) his M^{ty} may enioyn you to endeavour to get an Act past leaving to the King to issue a Commission under the Great Seal of Scotland (whereof the heads may be in the Act if it be fit) for empowering such persones as he shall think fit to treat about the Vnion, &c. his M^{ty} appointing the Quorum, time & place. So when the Parl^t of Scotland shall have dispatcht all other matters it may be adjourned to the spring, & the King may dispatch the cofmission when the Parl^t of England shall have come to a resolutione in it according to which necessary measures of particulars may be taken. I am to speak with the L. keeper of this matter, after which you shall again hear from me (I think on Saturday), God willing. Mean time A. Forester will stay here, and you will consider if this alternative can

(portion torn away.)

fortnight from this day will be the soonest you can expect any re-

solution in the matter from hence, unless the houses make more hast than is expected, and if you finde the expedient proper then you may prepare a draught of the instructions the King shall send both for passing such an Act, & time to which it will be fit to adiourn the parl^t. As to the persones to be named in the Co^mission for the Vnion the King expects your advice: onely he sayes E. Mareschall must be one, & when I told him I thought he was bribed to name him, hee could not deny it, and that drew us to discourse of the qualifications of com^{rs}, &c.

The King hath not writ nor cannot this night. I have minded him three times this day besides twice or thrice before. I will not give out till he write. L. Ashley is your reall servant; he likes the alternative I have proposed. Nothing from the houses till next poste. You will do well to cause print the letters & your speech there. It workes well here. Now people see the Union was the Kings own desire.* And [? it takes mi]ghtily with conformists. This is all.

CIII.—[23132, f. 135. Halyrudehouse, 28 Oct^r, 1669, LAUDERDALE to MORAY. The penalties for "deficients" in the militia are, by plurality of votes in the articles, to be exacted by quartering. Has an Act ready for "asserting the King's supremacie as full over all persons and in all causes ecclesiastick as is necessarie," and another for "mending some things in the exercise of the bishop's power." Does not, howeuer, wish to bring them in in a hurry, "the way observed in the years 1661, 1662," and has therefore appointed a committee to consider them. Mentions "ane insolence cofmitted in galloway upon ane orthodox minister," which will be punished. Hopes to pass the Act of Militia to-morrow. "Oh, if

* Compare this with Lauderdale's letter of Nov. 9. In a letter of James to Lauderdale for Oct. 28, 1670 (in the possession of John Webster, Esq. M.P.), he too expresses an evidently genuine desire that the affair of the Union should go on well.

it would please God matters could goe half as smoothly there (in England) as they will heir, and that ther Parl^t could doe his Maj^{tie} other considerable service, for heir he can co[m]mand absolutely.”]

CIV.—[23132, f. 139. Halvrudehous, 30 Oct. '69. LAUDERDALE to MORAY. The Act for Militia was brought in yesterday to the Parliament. “It took well, but many bogled at the executing it by quartering.” Finally it was referred back to the Articles, and it has now been arranged “to make punding (i.e. distraining) for deficients more severe and as expedite as quartering,” and so “the odious way of quartering” is got rid of. The Act has passed with but one “No,” that of the Earl of Panmure. “Brave powers” are left to the Council in the last clause.]

CV.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

[A brilliant description of the debate on the Supremacy Act.]

[23132, f. 141.]

Halvrudehous, 2 Nov^r, 1669.

Receave heir inclosed the act for the King's supremacie w^{ch} yow are humbly to present to his Maj^{tie}, with this account of the framing & passing it unanimously in the articles. It hath been on the anvill by a privat club ever since the expres was dispatcht. On Sunday was sinnet I met privatly with the honest club who drew it, and at starts as we could it was lickt till thursday last. Then in the articles I made a very generall proposition in order to it, and named a Co[m]mitte to prepare it. They were the Archb^p, the Bp^s of Orkney & Dumblane, the D. of Hamilton, the Earles of Tweeddale & Kincardin, the Register, the Advocat, Lee, & the Provost

of Ed^r. On fryday the act of militia past in parl^t. That afternoone the Co^mittee met. They revised all the former acts, & talked loosely on the matter, but appointed the Register & Advocat to draw the Act, which was made ready & presented to the Co^mittee yesterday, but it was shewen before unto the Archb^p,^a who assoone as he saw it, and that by it the clogs laid upon the King in the act of restitution were knockt off with ane absolute power in the King to order persons & meetings & matters as should please his Maj^{tie}, he tooke the alarum wondrous haisty, and said wilde things to E. of Tweeddale, that all King Henry the 8ths ten yeers' work was now to be done in 3 dayes, that 4 lines in this act were more comprehensive then a hundred & odd sheets of H. 8. The E. Tweeddale answered him calmly, that the narrative of their act was as full, and that we had all sworne the oath of supremacie, & could not scruple to inact it more cleirly; but all could not quiet him, he wild come to me. By good luck I was at the Thr^{er} till noone. Then he came to me, but I wold not spoyle his stomack to his dinner. Immediatly after dinner we had a sound bout, & I dealt freely with him. I knew well his objections, thogh he wold not speake them out. At last he did desire that I wold give him the act to advise with his brethren, w^{ch} I consented to, provyding it might be first tabled at the Co^mittee. Now yow must know he had been so towzled by the Duke, the E. Tweeddale, & Kincardin, and the Advocat, upon the debate of the materialls of the Act at the Co^mittee, that he had no great feast (?) to buckell any more; onely he made a speech & desired to consider on it that afternoone, w^{ch} was granted him, so the Co^mittee adjornd, and he spent the afternoone with his brethren. In the evening he came to me, and after he had receaved ane answer to all his objections he told me his brethren were so satisfyed with what I had said from the throne in his Maj^{ties} name that they wold not scruple to submitt all to

^a The action of Sharp is very amusing. It must be remembered that he had only lately, by abject submission, become reconciled to Lauderdale.

him if they knew it were his pleasure. I told him I meant not to give his Royall assent till first his Maj^{tie} had seen it. This satisfied him exceedingly, and then he told me how he had answered all his brethren's objections, but hoped I would not put them to vote it till I had a returne from the King. I answered that I behoved to have it pass the articles, but should not bring it in to the parl^t till his Maj^{tie} declared his pleasure. At last he desired the addition of one word, where the externall government is mentiond adde [as it is settled by law]. This I saw well would overthrow all, for then the King was limited, and all the clogs in the act of restitution, Yea, his negative vote in the act for the Nationall Sinod, could not be medled with by the King. I said nothing but tooke it to advise, and this morning early I sent his brother^a to tell him I could never admitt it. So to the Articles we came. The Act was twice read. None said a word against it. Then he rose & made a long set speech not worth repeating. And I did desire that if none had more to object it might be voted, & I declared if the Articles approved it I would transmitt it to his Maj^{tie} & know his pleasure before I tooke it to the House. The Bishop of Rosse moved for the addition [as it is settled by law], & he said it was to secure their government. The Archb^p snapt him up, and said how foolish such a jealousie would be of the King, especially after what had been declared in his name & now printed, by his Maj^{ties} command. The motion was knockt doune by E. of Tweeddale & Kincardin, and many spoke for the act without any alteration; so it was voted & past nemine contradicent. And heir yow have it. Now I beseech yow weigh it well, beseech his Maj^{tie} to consider it is most full & comprehensive, & so much the better that it is short & positive, declaring it a right inherent in the Crowne, & repealing all acts & clauses of acts against it. Be assured it will pass in the parl^t without a rub, but if it be altered we are throwen in to the mere. Guard well against any assaults from the English Clergie, for I suspect applications wilbe made to the Archb^p of

^a William Sharp.

Canterburie (thogh I am sure the Law of England gives the King as much). If his Maj^{ty} approve it, prepare a letter for his royall hand unto me approving it & authorising me to give his royal assent to it & hasten it hither, & I answer for the succes. Yow shall receive shortly a draught of another act fitt to be past for the curing the B^{rs} jealousies, & knocking away vaine & idle hopes of the other side. But it must be well digested heir first. This is onely fitt for the King himself; what I have more to say shalbe in another letter to-night.

Adiew.

[To S^r R. Moray.]

CVI.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

[23132, f. 143.]

Halyrudehous, 2 Nov. 1669.

My inclosed is too long, yet yo^r prettie proposition in yo^{rs} of 28 8^{ber} forces this addition. God forbid such ane order come to me for such ane act as yow propose.^a I thocht I had cleirly enough in one to his Maj^{ty} declared against our goeng a step further and that the Comission must be done there. Yow cannot imagine what aversion is generally in this Kingdome to the Union.^b The in-deavor to have made us slaves by garrisons & the ruine of our trade by severe lawes in England frights all ranks of men from having to doe with England. What is done is purely in obedience to his Maj^{ty}, & it may be the worke was more difficult then is imagined. Indeed it was. But to press more before England take notice of the matter wold render the proposer most odious as the betrayer of his countrey.^c For God's sake let his Maj^{ty} lay any other punishment on me, no comãd could be more greevous. This I must say, yet if he doe comãd it I shall not dispute but obey come what can

^a See Moray's letter of Oct. 28.

^b See Mackenzie's Memoirs, p. 137 and following.

^c See following letter.

come. Yet I must assure yow it does quite overthrow the service & render the union heir impossible. I am almost dazed & can write no more. My service to all freinds.

Adiew.

CVII.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.^a

[Arguments against appointing a blank Commission under the Great Seal, to treat with English Commissioners regarding the Union.]

[23132, f. 147.]

Halyrudehous, 9 Nov^r. 1669.

By the hints I gave in the Letter I presumed to write to his Maj^{tie} by my expres, I thocht I had said enough against the passing of a Co^mission heir for the treaty, and of the necessity that the powers must be first agreed there before this Parl^t could make any further step. And when yow first proposed yo^r alternative (as yow call it) by yo^{rs} of 28 Oct. I enlarged sufficiently upon the Danger, if not impossibilitie of such a motion heir; Yet seing yow said the King wold doe nothing in it till he heard from me about it, I did thinke the matter safe enough,^b w^{ch} made me amazed when on sunday, before noone, And: Foster came & broght me his Maj^{ties} expres co^mands for indeavoring That ane act be past heir ordain- ing a Co^mission to be exped under the great seale, bearing a full power to fit persons to treat on the behalf of Scotland, &c. Leaving

^a It is not easy, from this and following letters, to understand whether Lauderdale wished for Union or not. There will be noticed, however, several passages which, read in connection with "Mackenzie Memoirs," p. 140, appear to support the view that the idea was distasteful to him, possibly from the idea that he would greatly lose power thereby. Burnet says that the idea was Tweeddale's, and that Lauderdale strongly urged its consideration, since it rendered a Parliament necessary, at which he would be Commissioner; but he intimates that it was never intended to be carried out, except by the King. Commissioners were named in the summer of 1670, but the thing fell through.

^b The next letter shows that Lauderdale had his way.

to his Maj^{tie} the terms of the Co^mmission, &c. This wold have thunderstruck me If his Maj^{tie} had not been gratusly pleasd to allow me to know his surder pleasure before I should either dissolve or adjorne this Parl^t. But, before I speake of the matter, I must heavily complaine That the expres should have been returned with such orders. Had they comd by the ordinary pacquet I could have quietly returnd my humble opinion to his Maj^{tie} without noyse, But the returne of the expres fills all the Parl^t men with curiosity, What hath the expres broght? & I have nothing to answer. This hath been a cutting & a confounding circumstance. The matter it self was of that weight that I called to me divers considerable members of the Articles yesterday morning: The Lord Chancellor, Archb^p. of St. Andrews, Lord Privie seale, D. of Hamilton, E. of Argyll, Dunfermline, Tweeddale, Kincardin, The Lord Bellenden, The Register & Advocat, Halton, L. G. Drumond, S^r Alex^r Fraser & the Provost of Ed^r. These I was sure wold take true measures of the sence of the Parl^t And wold give faithfull advice. We met heir, and I produced to them his Maj^{ties} order w^{ch} the expres broght, And asked their advice whither I should propose such ane Act to the Parl^t: Each man spoke freely & fully against it, And all concludid unanimously That it wold not pass in the Parl^t, And that the propounding it wold raise such jealousies as wold indanger the ruining of the whole designe, w^{ch} they all besoght me to represent humbly to his Maj^{tie} with their reasons w^{ch} I shall heir summe up as well as I can.

First they observed it was evident what this Parl^t hath done was purely to witnes their duety to the King & their confidence in him, To whom onely they made that addres, That by it They had frankly declared their willingnes that Co^mmissioners be appointed to treat, They had freely & heartily offered the nomination with the numbers time & place to his Maj^{tie} Even before they knew whither the Parl^t of England wold accept of the motion; But they also observed how jealousie many were of shewing too great forwardnes before they saw what England wold doe, How many wold faine

have delayed the answer with debating the Co^mmission, w^{ch} behoved to be dexterously avoyded, And how the unanimous concurrence was obtained upon the consideration That it was onely an addres to the King, to whom we could not be too forward in shewing our generall compliyan^{ce} wth his co^mmands, & in witnessing our acceptance in generall of what his Maj^{tie} so earnestly recommended to both his Parliaments, And they observed both by the publick debate & the discourses of many members, that this Parl^t wold thinke it dishonorable for this kingdome to make any further step, That it would in their apprehension render them contemptible to seem so very fond & hastie before it appeard whither England wold hearken to this motion or not. They suppose it wold make England jealous to finde Scotland spurre so fast. In this they may be mistaken; but sure they are not mistaken that nothing could be more greivous to the Parl^t then such ane imposition upon them, for the ruine of our trade by the pressures of some Acts these 9 years past hath given the generality of the kingdome so great jealousie of uniting with England that if this should be prest it wold increase the jealousies, so that whatever should be concluded by a Co^mmission so obtaind wold runne great hazard never to be approved heir. Besides, the very letter to the King hath this expression—And upon signification of yo^r Maj^{ties} pleasure therein we shall give such orders & Co^mmission for promoving of the treaty, &c. By w^{ch} it is apparent they leave the Co^mmission to themselvs. Why should they be driven out of that methode? What does our giving a blanck Co^mmission signifie? Without a Co^mmission from the Parl^t of England all is Lost Labour, and I dare boldly answer what ever powers shalbe given by the Parl^t of England shalbe cheerfully granted heir. Why then should so insignificant a pressure be put upon so willing a Parl^t? It is just that the King doe not press his Parl^t of England beyond their naturall way of moving. I shall be very sorie his Maj^{tie} drive us off of our legs. None that ever was borne wearies so much as I doe under this great honor, But I must be faithfull (?) This Parl^t had rather sit two moneths, nay, two

sessions, rather then be put upon giving a blanck Coñmission, & so to adorne. Thus I have truely represented the sence of those who met; Be pleased to acquaint the King with it, And Let him order what he pleases. There shalbe honest indeavours to obey him, but I disclaime all promises of succes in this or in the treaty if this shalbe prest. As for adjourning or dissolving, Let his Maj^{tie} order what he pleases, I am sure he shalbe exactly obeyd.

Yet I hope the King will consider that if it shall appeare the Parl^t of England will doe nothing as to the Union, then it wilbe necessarie that the Parl^t doe some thing as to the trade: If there be a treaty for union, then the trade will I thinke be suspended till it may be seen whither there can be ane union, but if the union be rejected it will be necessarie we be allowed to doe some thing for our selvs, which without a Parl^t can never be done.

CVIII.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

[23132, f. 153.]

Halyrudehous, 13 Nov^r, 1669.

I was out of humor to write & uncertaine what was like to become of anything Either union or supremacie (w^{ch} I take to be a greate worke), & therefor should not have written this night If the paquet had not comd now at midnight with his Maj^{tie} gracious orders of the 9th instant. It rejoyces me as much as I am capable of to finde that I shall not be chid for not obeying the coñmand yow sent me by the express; indeed it would have confounded all. And I am not a little pleasd that I am allowed to give his Royall assent to the Act of Snpremacie. Say I have no skill if it pass not, & the words yow except against were put in by me expressly, and I will answer for them even to yow, but I cannot now write a volumne. The king is now Master heir in all causes & over all persons, & we may well waite for his pleasure in the rest, None suffers

like me by delay, for oh I am wearie of this grinning honor, faine wold I be at Whitehall againe; Indeed I am now out of my element. For god's sake make my excuse to Good Lo: Keeper & Lord Arlington & all my other freinds who write to me. In great hast
Adieu.

CIX.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.*

[Account of the discussion on the Union in the English Privy Council, to be read in connection with Lauderdale's letter of November 9.]

[23138, f. 154.]

Whitehall, 13 Nov. '69, at 7.

I come iust now from Essex house where I was present an hour or thereby at a debate about the carrying on of the Union here. The King put me to speak first. I gave an account of the aversion people there have to the Union; I set it higher than yow have done; attribtnd your saying it hetherto so softly to your unwillingness to magnify your own service; and affirmed it to be such that no industry could have prevailed if the parl^t were not so perfectly disposed to do what they can in complying with his M^{ties} pleasure. And laid not the aversion upon humor, but apprehensions people there have of being losers by the Union. I used all your words in representing the raisonableness of the Parl^t of England's advancing as far as they had done, & fairer in agreeing upon a Comission & added on that head what occurred to me besides. I represented at large the inconveniences of that Parl^{ts} waiting when their other business is done, til the houses should in their own methode take the Union into con-

* Upon receiving this account Lauderdale wrote as follows on the 18th November: "Alas, shall I never be trusted! But I will complain no more. Nobis obsequiis gloria relicta est. Fall back, fall edg, sure I shall obey, and either here or there I am confident the Union is choaked."

sideration; and that Parlt^u separating before this have done anything in the Union. This last I urged so far that I concluded it exceeding probable it would make them at their next meeting fly off altogether. I spoke fully of the inconveniencies of attempting to get that done which after debate at that board His maiesty had writ to you to endeavour, & how litle hope there could be of succeeding, since upon a return to letters of mine that had hinted that motion to you 2 postes or 3 before the express parted you thought the thing impossible, & the offering at it so preiudicial to his Ma^{ties} service as well as the business it self, that you were extremely troubled with the expectation of it. That a short adiournem^t was not practicable this time of the year, & any adiournem^t would drive off the Treaty, if any be, to the summer, which is fitter for winter, & occasion a third session of the Parl^t there; And that if the Houses would enter upon and proceed heartily in the business, the Treaty might be finished before this Session end here, & the next Session there would fall in April or May, & so the matter might be determined, or if His M^y pleased he might order the matter so as both parl^u might sit together if that were fit. And I concluded that I humbly conceived it remained his M^y would be pleased to (consider) moving the House of Peers, or both Houses, at once to take the union into consideration. Everybody present but M. Antony^a spoke to some part of what I had said. That is, besides His M^y, the L. Keeper,^b the 2 secretaries,^c and S. T. Clifford. And in the first place unanimously concluded the bringing of it in to any one or both of the Houses would both spoile the business infallibly & every other publick business they have before them. And though I urged the matter to the utmost they all stood firme. So this stating the matter upon no greater probability of despatch than the way of proceeding in the Houses, promises, which may drive the coming to any resolution off, nobody knowes how long, the next debate was what may be fit to be done in Scotland. Here again

^a Shaftesbury.

^b Bridgman.

^c Arlington & Trevor.

I represented the small hopes of succeeding in Scotland at the next meeting of the parl^t, if they parted before the Houses did so much as take it into consideration, and this I hightned as much as I could. but there was no remedy. Then it was suggested that since nobody knew better than you the Temper and way of the Houses here, and there being upon the place you knew best what is fit to be done there, His M^{ty} should write to you to have your opinion what is to be done, & that you should send up a draught of a letter such as the king might write to you to be communicate to the parl^t there. This was like to take, but I had no minde to have that thorn put in your foot if I could help it, represented in many words as emphatically as I could How hard it is to finde what to say to the Parl. of Scotland about their not taking the union into consideration here, that might be satisfactory there, & not offend the Houses when they should come to know it, as they must needs do. To this though one or 2 offered words might be used, they were easily redargued either to be manifest reflections, or to be lyable to the construction of breach of privilege, & so might be of bad consequence. This I enlarged upon, and got the motion waved, though I am not diffident but somewhat of this kind might be done. I pretend not to repeat all was said, nor that every thing I have said here is exactly in its right place, but the heads of all you have till wee came to be at a stand, as here we were. & so we stuck, & might have done longer, if I had not stood up, & minded his M^{ty} of what hee had said to you by the express (who carried that which would certainly trouble you, though it was somewhat different from what I had at first hinted to you and flowed from S. T. Clifford), & told by Monday's letters wee should have your return, and by it possibly be able better to resolve what is fit to be done. This took, & I came away to tell you what hath past at the meeting. This must serve to set your thoughts on worke to consider what advice is to be given in this exigent. For I do not yet see how to evite sending to you for your advice, that is calling to you such of the Council as you shall

think fit. Onely if that be resolved, after we see what is in your next letters, I intend to move that a draught of a letter be sent to you which is to be written to you & by the King, that you may alter so as in your iudgement may make it most plausitle there. This is what needs be said as to the putting a fair conclusion to this Session of Parl^t there, without creating preiudices against the Union. I shall now tell you that there was much said to the time to which the parl^t there should be adiourned. For a short day would be impracticable, & a long one will make the parl^t here spin out business to the greater length, presuming they are to sit till then. This I told them might be adiusted.^a . . . (I misworded this ere I was aware) by dissolving the parl^t w^{ch} would be much about one there as an adiournement, & then His M^{ty} might time the next meeting of parl^t as he saw cause, & the thing be unknown here, which is likewise to be done by adiourning or proroguing it to a short day, & then, as there is ground, by proclamation, adiourn or prorogue again to what other day his M^{ty} shall see propper. Have your thoughts also upon this.

Now after all this, if it could by your labour be brought about that the parl^t there did pass an Act, either such as was mentioned in the letter by A. Foster, or any other to the like effect, with a clause declaring it null & voide if the parl^t of England do not passe a Commission for the Treatty (the termes thereof left at large) before this present session be ended (or such other limitation of time that may be like that which in one of my former I mentioned from the l. keeper's mouth past here in anno. 1604) the Act to be null & voide: If, I say, you could bring this to pass after all hath been said of the difficulty of it, I dare say the King would think it a noble peece of service. I think I guess how you will relish this. Disappoint me.

Now to your letter of 6. The King read it yesternight, but I have not yet had time to tell him the stories S. S. writes about our

^a A passage is here crossed out.

Pr. which will not be forgot. Nor shall I now say any thing to him for 2 reasons, the first is before I have ended this it will be impossible to do it in time, the other I keep till next time.

CX.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.*

[Compare Lauderdale's letters of October 12 and 22.]

[23132, f. 156.]

Holyroodhouse, November 16, '69.

Your release from the late order (by what Robin Murray wrote this day sevensnight) was welcome in the highest degree, for I was afflicted above measure to have soe great a busines miscarry in my hand by precipitation, which will goe well here if wee meet with any suteable returne ; wee may well waite sometime, and sure it wilbe at last considered at Westminster, unles they be resolved to reject it, and then I hope yow will allow us to doe something for our trade now turned, but I have troubled you too much about this subject already.

I received your Instruction concerning your Supremacy, and immediately went about the obeying of it ; on Sunday, in the fore-noone, I shewed it to my Lord St. Andrew's ; Hee said he acquiest, but I found the old Spirit of Presbitery did remaine with some of the Bishops (soe unwilling are Church-men, by what name or title soever they are dignified, to part with power), and that they would forsooth desire a conference with me about it, which I easily layd aside by declaring I would not alter a sillable in the act. Then I discovered a designe in some others to have haranged against it, but I found ways to fright them out of the current of their con-

* This letter, apart from its actual contents, is of great interest. Burnet (sect. 286) says that, after Robert Moray's death, to whom the King had given it, it fell into Hamilton's hands, and that he himself saw it. He adds that it was intended to found an impeachment upon it.

ceit ; for this morning early I went to the Articles and resolved to bring it in the first busines, I brought it into the Parliament before eleven, and had it passed without so much as one contrary vote in the forenoone ; as soon as it was voted I called for yo^r scepter, and solemnly touched it, & the act of the Militia with tuo other small acts, and appointed the acts of Supremacy & Militia to be forthwith printed & solemnly published. The first makes you Sovereigne in the Church, you may now dispose of Bishops & Ministers, and remove & transplant them as you please (which I doubt yow can not doe in England). In a word this Church, nor no meeting nor Ecclesiastick Person in it, can ever trouble you more unles yow please ; and the other act setles you 20 thousand men to make good that power ; But by the way they say the Militia Act gives jealousy in England becaus it is declared you may co^mand them to any of your Dominions, alas that is no new clause in this Act, it was verbatim in the Act Six years agoe, This only ascertains & Regulate the Militia, and if any shall talk to you of such a jealousy, you may easily tell them they can not march without you co^mand them, and if you shall co^mand them, you may tell them from me better news. That, if you co^mand it, not only this Militia, but all the sensible men in Scotland, shall march when & where you shall please to co^mand, for never was King soe absolute as you are in poor old Scotland. Wee have been working through great opposition of Marchants & almost all the Burrows for an excellent regulating & acertainning your Excise & Custome. It is very long, and was this day read in the House. The Articles meet early to morow for finishing it, and at ten a clock the Parliament, when I hope it shall passe. But I must trouble you no more, Robin Murray will say the rest, and I doe swear I am entirely your own.

[Copy of Lauderdale's Letter to the King.]

CXI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 165.]

Whitehall, 30 Nov. '69.

The King read your last yesternight. How hee relisht your proposalls in it as to Glasgow you will see by the inclosed. I read to him yesternight SS's draught of the warrant concerning the Resignation, & this morning when hee signed them hee lookt a good while upon it & then signed it. Then Hee read the other & signed it too. So you see they have not lyen long at my dore. You said every thing so full & clear that I needed ad but very litle, & Hee needed not much to persuade Him to do all you propose as to the Resignation, allowance, & the successor. The onely thing hee spoke of at first was your suspicion that the parl^t here does slight the Union. Hee said that is not as yet to be concluded. And this morning when I was talking to him about the progress the house of Commons hath made in considdering his speech, they having condescended upon the supply they would give him; hee said they had as yet done nothing (meaning, as I presume, that the nameing of the sum is but the first step, whereas there wants much to make it effectually), and that when the Union was to be spoke of there would a hundred be got to bring in the motion. As to the adiourning or dissolving of the parl^t Hee sayes no new thing, having left that to you already. And if your club hammer out any thing fit for him to do as to the Church I make no question but it will please him. For he is fully persuaded that there is nothing to be done to purpose in such matters but by his Authority.

It is indeed considerable that the warrant is onely to you, else the Bishops might possibly be so foolish as to think the King could do nothing of that nature without them; but you know how to order the matter. The King askt me what the rent of Glasgow amounts to; I told him I thought about 1000 lb., and that B. Lighton required no more but to live & spend all his rent before the year's end upon the poor. The King, you see, is pleased with all you pro-

pose, & no creature here knowes any thing of it but hee & I. Though within a few dayes it may be fit to say somewhat of it to my morall friend,^a when it is past redding,^b as also to the B. of Chester, who will be well pleased with it, I assure you. The King took one of the copies of the Militia Acts & put it in his pocket, &, say other people what they list, thinkes it is for his no small advantage that the 22000 Scots are by Act of parl^t to march whither he pleases within his Dominions, and was well satisfide when I told him that the Act spoke onely of 22000 men, but if he made it known that if he had to do with 40000 Hee would not say too much. This is all your's gives me matter for.

The newes of E. Glencarne & E. Eglinton's fighting I hear of from diverse besides the Gazette a la main, but I know not what to beleeve of it since nobody writes a word of it to me. It occurs to me now to name to you the B. of Chester & S^r Edward Harley as the persones I meant by in my letter 3 postes ago. Yesterday the house of lords considered some points of S. G. Cart^a accounts,^c & the Co^mmons debated about some exactions at Gravesend by S. John Griffith that are criminell, yet remitted him at last to the King.

This is all now. A Dieu.

CXII.—CHARLES II. TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 168.]

CHARLES R.,

Right Trusty & Right entirely beloved Cousin & Councillor wee greet yow well. Having considered the paper past in name of the Archbishop & Synode of Glasgow,^d & Our Privy Council's opinion concerning the same (w^{ch} opinion wee do heartily approve) calling

^a Sheldon is usually written of under this name. Alexander Burnet was on terms of close confidence with him. See Appendix.

^b Cf. Lauderdale's caution to Moray on this subject in his letter for Nov. 9.

^c Carteret.

^d See Appendix.

likewise to minde the Vindication of Our Privy Council in their letter of the 16 of Jan: 1668, with the occasion thereof, & who it was that gave us that information: And being informed of the disorders in that Diocese, & the great discomposure of the mindes of people in these parts, Wee do finde that the Archb's carriage hath contributed to the fomenting thereof, & do therefore on all these grounds esteem him unfit to govern that sea any longer. Therefore wee do require you to call him before you, & in presence of the Archb. of St. Andrew's & such other of the Bishops as you think fit, to express our Ressentments of his misrepresentation of Our Council, & his accession to that paper of so dangerous a nature & consequence. And though both or either of them were sufficient to inferr a guilt of a higher nature than wee are willing to charge him with; yet wee shall be content to accept of a Dimission & Resignation of his Bishoprick in our hands, & that no further prosecution be of the said matters (you alwise discharging him of his attendance at Our Privy Council): which if he be unwilling to do or postpone and delay, you shall in Our name forthwith command Our Advocat to intent a process against him before the Judge Competent for the Crimes foressed: And that dureing the dependance of the process, you, with the advice of the Bishops present, suspend him from the Exercise of the Episcopall function, for all which these shall be your warrant. Given at Our Court at Whitehall the 2 day of Dec. 1669, and in the 21th year of Our Raigne.

Addressed: For Our Commissioner.

CXIII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 175.]

Whitehall, 6 Dec. '69.

Just as I was reading your S^t. Andrew's dayes letters the King came into the Room, whereupon I delivered him your's & read

S. S.'s to him every word, and wee talked awhile on both. All I need say to you of our conference is that at parting he said, Everything is Mighty Well, very well. By the dispatch of 27, by which you expected fuller information of things here, you will have got nothing to please you. But that will not have hindered you from taking your measures. Those 2 Acts on St. Andrew's day are indeed worthy of the clergies thanks; I intend to shew them to My Morall friend assoon as I can. I shew them & talkt of them to the King: who, to say trueth, is perfectly well pleased with all is done there, & sayes it on all occasions. I think the primate's power is better in the Castle among the good Bowes than in his own fingers. The King's stay was the shorter with me this forenoon because his dinner stayed for him. But wee use to talk of matters oftner than once: so I mean Godwilling to entertain him to-morrow with that compliment, that is, reflections upon it. In the Intervall of the sessions of that Parl^t there will be time to think on what is more to be done in Church matters * * *

* * * A Dieu.

CXIV.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 178.]

Whitehall, 10 Dec. '69, 6 at night.

Had His M^y kept tryste this morning he had seen your last of 4 and the 2 Acts it brought, but it seemes hee was carried away as he was comeing to the laboratory, where I stayed till dinner time expecting him. And then I went to Southampton house, where I dined with My La. Devonshire upon advertisem^t from her, who remembred your health as they at D. of Ormond's Table did yesterday. [We] did not forget your Uncle. I scarce meet with any body but talks of you with the highest Elogies they can devise, each in his peculiar Rhethorick, & many of them swear to it heartily; and diverse wish you here for serving the King & doing good offices.

My last dispatch brought you the letter you advised, and mine said enough of all in it. And a former brought that concerning L. F. It gave you no direction in particular for sending up a patent for his successor, for *cela s'en va sans le dire*. And you will see by what I then said & what I said in others before that the King is well pleased with the proposition concerning the successor.^a Therefore, unless you think rather fit to bring it with you, as soon as the room is made for him let it come, & be sure it will not stick here no more than the dispatch of what concerns L. F. will stick there; and there is no manner of doubt but all that know his successor, & especially how he hath brought in all the Ministers in his present diocese, will mightily approve of the King's choyce, unless it be some Heteroclite head like his that dislik't the Minister of pasley for doing as much with his parishioners. Indeed you handled Haddo nimbly. This morning I whispered the Duke in the ear in the King's Bedchamber that the King had appointed an Act of Naturalization to be past thereof, and he said readily he lik't it well to have one there, but not here.

11 Dec. 11 a Clock.

While I expect the King in the laboratory I will say to you somewhat that is not as yet matter of fact (to which I usually confine myself), but will be before dinner. The King hath appointed the parl^t to be prorogued till the 15 of Feb. The import of this you will easily see untold. It is said His M^{ty} took this resolution upon notice he had the H. of C. were to adiourn themselves as this day without acquainting him with it till about the same time the King hath pitched upon: upon all which I need not philosophize.

Yesterday the House of C. did order all matters for a conference with the Lords (here interrupted by a member of the H. of C. that tells me parl^t is prorogued to the 14 of Feb.), they suspended S. G. C.^a from the house & voted witnesses to be sent for to Ireland

^a Leighton.

^b Carteret.

against E. Orery. But now all these matters are out of dores. When the Kn^t of the Black Rod came in to the H. of C. to require them to come up to the H. of Lords to be prorogued, they were upon voteing S. G. C. out of the Council & all his other offices in England & Ireland, but hee stopt the current of that conceit. But hee came without his Rod, & that gave occasion to som of the fiercer blades to question the formality of their summons; but that was soon quasht, & up they went & were prorogued. You may think this resolution was taken since my last dispatch, for indeed there was then nothing of it, though the King was before (now dores are opened & things reserved may go abroad) very ill pleased with almost every thing was done, especially that which regarded himself, and good reason had; next with their meddling with Religion; then their insisting as they did upon the controversie with the Lords, &c. Hee is now beginning to declare himself more vigourously against persecution of people for their Religion, and sayes upon that subiect things most pungent and unanswerable, & yesternight speaking of it used an expression to signify his resolution not to do it tentimes so strong as 'I will hold you a groat,' & you know that wager used to binde pretty hard.

Reflecting upon the warrant and direction you have in my former letters for putting an end to this session of Parl^t & considdering that it might be fit you had a particular instruction for it under the King's own hand, I moved it to him, & here you have it, though you may perhaps not think it necessary, no more than I did. And I was the rather willing to have it, so that there may be also under his M^s hand an appointm^t for you to come to Court, & an expression of his regarde & approbation of your service. He read it & signed it & with it the protection you sent for the E. of Moray wherein the years are by his commaund inserted by my hand. When I was writing this instruction It came in my minde that you may think it fit that a draught of an approbation of your service in Scotland were made there & sent up to me before you came, otherwise you may bring it with you I thought fit to minde you of it however since it came in my thoughts.

The King read your letter, & when he had done with the first paragraphe y^t mentions L. F. he said, That is gone, hee is out of Dores. if you send up his successor's patent, as I told you formerly, it will not stick ; and if you do not come out of the land of cakes before New Year's day, as I presume you will not, you may deliver it to him out of your own hand. He read not the Acts no more than he did the 2 former, but heard me give him an account of the substance of them. But though I have waited on pretty close I could not get my dispatch till he led the Queen in to her dressing room.

The city is mightily ioyed with the prorogation. And this aswell as other things make what you do there cryed up to the skies. And the King this night again with his kinde remembrance of you, said every thing there is wonderfull, as well as hee can wish. So ADieu.

By the King's authority I filled in the date of the Instruction : because you may possibly adiourn the parl^t upon the Receipt of my last.

CXV.—THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE TO SIR ROBERT MORAY.

[The first part of this letter shows in the strongest light how completely the Church had been subjected to the Crown.]

[23132, f. 186.]

Halyrudehous, 16 Dec^r, 1669.

By twesdaye's post I gave yow notice what past betuixt the Archb^p of Glasgow & me, & seing he desired that my Lords of the clergie might be consulted as to the way of his dismission, I did yesterday morning desire That they wold depute some of their number to come & dine with me this day that it might end. They came this day after the Articles, The Lord Primat, the Bishops of Galloway, Aberdeen, & Rosse ; after we had dined, I told them what past betwixt L. F. & me. How frankly he had told he wold dimitt, & consented that I should tell the King so much, And I

desired they might speake as to the terms of it. But I soon saw they were not prepared, & the Primat told me faintly something like the indelibleness of his caracter^a: My answer was short That I should not dispute that, But that I was sure the exercise of Archbp. Bp. or minister in such a Diocese or parish was not Jure Divino, but depended solely on the supreme Magistrat. Let him be Archbishop in the Catholique church, I should not dispute it; But if he dimitt, He must dimitt all office & benefice as to Glasgow. This they could not deny, But then I added, That I was informed he had sent ane expres journey to Carlisle, & so post to London, wth Letters to my Lord of Canterburie & Bp. of Winchester, & he wold be deeeavd if he expected that I wold waite for a returne. The Primat askt the other 3 if they knew of it; They did frankly & truely deny it. Then (said he) I know he hath written to my Lord Canterburie & sent his Letter by the way of Newcastle. My reply was, That should signifie nothing, for I must have the thing presently done or refused, and I gave them till to morrow to bring me a draught of a dimission, Els I knew what to doe nixt. So they promised to bring me their answer to morrow, & the King may trust me, That I shall not be easily fooled, before Saterday's post he shall have a full account; In the meane time my intelligence was good & seasonable, & the dealing with me in this Is not faire.

Yesterday morning the Parl^t met, & I broght in first This act, ratifying the forfeitures; It met with a long debate (w^{ch} I confess I did not expect). First Haddo spoke loosely against it, He spoke in the plurall number We; I soone snapt him up, & desired to know if he was a single person, or spoke in name of a collective bodie.^b This silenced him once, but worshipfull S^r Geo: Mackenzie, with mighty civill and insignificant prefaces, spoke home against the tryall of any absent person even for rebellion, Except by a Parl^t. Much was said like Law by him & Haddo, but my

^a Sharpe's action is thoroughly characteristic.

^b This hectoring tone now becomes usual with Lauderdale.

Lo: Advocat knockt them doune with Civill Law, Scots Law, & right reason, & spoke as well as man could doe; this tooke up a long time, but my Lord President, the Advocat, & S^r Robert Sinclare, so satisfied the house, & I sometimes lending in a turne, That the Act past wthout one contrary vote among the peers, scarce 3 more then the two Sir Georges among the Small Barons, & 3 contemptible Lawyers of the burrowes & one burges of the west. Reade the act to the King^y; It is a good one; It ratifies the past forfeitures; It referrs those under proces, who wanted proofes, to the Justice, and cleirs the great point as to forfeiting absents for rebellion before the Justice Generall, w^{ch} was too disputable by our Law before. If any thing stick I shall fully cleir this to be ane excellent act.

Yow know I have kept up my assent to the act for excise, but I found cleirly we could not mend ourselvs. Two damnd acts,^a made by Middleton, stood in our way. One for freing all salt for fishes, & so contrived that french salt was free for twenty yeers for pretending it was for fish; Another, discharging oathes as to customes; both are cured by this act,^b and the counting for the King's dues made cleir: Before I past it, I made a speech too long to be written, But I shall cleir all at meeting.

I have received yo^{rs} of the 11. I will not send a gift of a successor till L. F. be gone; I shall not presume to speake of the King's proroging that Parl^t, but sure they spent as much time as we, and done just nothing: I thanke yow for the King's order as to our adjournment, But sure I shall not aske for approbation till I make my report. If I die in the meane time, I shall trust the King for indemnifying my heirs, for I hope I deserv no punishment. Nixt week I shall adjorne and beginne my journey, Godwilling, the 3 Jan^{ry}, sooner I can not, for I will not beginne in Christmas week. I am old, & beginne to grow crazie, so cannot come fast;

^a Mackenzie, Memoirs, p. 167. He asserts that it was passed in favour of Kincardine.

^b Mackenzie, p. 171.

but I shall come as I am able, & serv truely as long as I Eve.
 Though crazie I shall doe as I may, & where the pitcher breaks
 there is an end. Present this inclosed to the King's hand; It is
 some releif to one old suffering servant, & out of a forfeiture made
 by E. Middleton. If any aske for me, my service to them, & so
 Adieu.

CXVI.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF
 LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 195.]

Whitehall, 23 Dec. '69.

It was this morning before I could get so much time of the King
 as to read your letter. He read it all; & heard me read the Act &
 say on it what occurred. Hee is still at his high Expressions of
 satisfaction. he says *you there out do us here very far* & bid me as
 he ~~was~~ remember him kindly to you, having no new thing to say.
 He smiled at some passages of your letter wherein he saw other
specimen of the Genius of his clergy there, which he understands
 perfectly well. All I can say of any letters come from L. F. hither
 was the hint I gave you of what my Morall friend said to me when
 I told him, L. F. was to dimit which but 3 dayes, as I remember,
 before he had done it, that is when I had reason to think it was
 just redding,* But it is no matter now what he write or what any
 here say. I told the King I thought it was now hard to devise a
 new act of parl^t for any purpose, and hee assented to it. Indeed
 that concerning forfeiting of Rebells is a good & necessary one.
 Your answer to the primato's speech knockt him on the head. And
 that Act for the Excise is full too. When the King came to S. G.
 Mackenzie's name he said Hee thought hee should remember: taking

* See letters for Nov. 9 and 30.

him for Tarbet, but I cleared him of that. Hee askt who Haddo is, & I said what I knew. The King very graciously at the first mention of the Justice Clark signed the paper you have here. Nothing else occurs onely this day 4 observations more on S. G. C.^a accounts were gone through. A Dieu.

CXVII.—RESIGNATION OF ALEXANDER BURNET, ARCHBISHOP
OF GLASGOW.

[The first fruits of the Act of Supremacy.]

[23132, f. 197.]

I Alexander Archbishop of Glasgow,^a being sensible that my service in that province hath not beene so acceptable to his Ma^{tie}/ as I could have wished, and that I cannot expect my continuance therein can be so usefull to the church as the necessities thereof at this tyme require; and intimation of his Ma^{ties}/ displeasure being made to me by My Lord Commissioner his grace the Earl of Lauderdale; I doe in all humility make a surrender thereof; Lykeas I doe hereby freely resigne, surrender, and dimitt in his M^{ties} hands, the said Arch-bishoprick, with all title, right, or interest I have or can pretend to the exercise of the said office; to the benefice, patrimony, jurisdiction, and priviledges belonging to the samine: lykeas I doe constitute my pro-res to that effect, with power to them, or any of them, to dimitt and surrender the samine in his Ma^{ties} royall hands, to the effect his Ma^{tie} may dispose thereof as in his royall wisdom he shall thinke fit. In witnes whereof I have subscribd these presents at Edinburgh the twentie and fourth day of decemb: 1689.

ALEX: GLASCUEN:

^a See Appendix.

CXVIII—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[1612 & 30.]

Winchelsea, 25 Dec. '69.

This will be shorter than your last of 15 was, if I finde not out
matter to stretch it. Your annexation of Orkney & Zetland^a
words might well here. I told the L. Arlington of it, this in stand-
ing by the King in his lobby in the chappell: and he instantly
magnified it to the Duke & the prince. You will easily think the
King likes it. This gave occasion to them to talk highly to your
advantage, & praise the parliament there & every thing else as incom-
parably beyond this place, &c. I told there was so many good
lawes made now that there is no room left to devise any more. The
L. Arlington talks much of your services done there, and in a hearty
way prayed me to suggest to him what he could do to pleasure you
with the King, offering his utmost credit to serve you. I thankd
him for his friendly offer, which you may take notice of when you
see him: But forbore to say any thing particular to him, onely I
told him, when he was commending you, that you are a steaddy
friend. This offer of his minded me of a thing that I write to S. S.
and need not say to you.

Nor shall I add more now but an opinion that when the B. of
Dunblane is translated it may do very well to forbear a while the
giving him a successor till it be well thought on. For if it be left
vacant till the King order Ecclesiasticall matters there It is to be
hoped some nonconformist may be induced to accept of it, which
would be of vast use. If it be vacant till we meet, we will talk of
it. You will be very much made of here by every body; for the
severity, as the clergy here call it already, of the usage of L. F. my
morall friend charges me with, yet makes of me as he used to do.

^a For the annexation, see Mackenzie, p. 175. It was a high-handed act against
Morton, a political opponent, on account of the old grudge against Middleton, whose
son-in-law he was.

I do not decline it, but iustify it. I wish you a happy new year.
A Dieu.

I write now at 6, and have not shewed the King your last as yet,
being hindered by his Devotion &c. but I intend it by & by.

CXIX.—THOMAS HAYE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23133, f. 31.]

MY LORD,

Edr, first of March, 1670.

The Councill mett this foernoone & had first in consideratione the Irish catle & victuell, and hawe ordered all the heretores who hawe thaire lands lying on the west sea coast to give bond, that if any Irish beasts be putt a shoare within thaire bounds, that they shall seize the same under the payne of 40 scots pounds for each ox or cow which shall escape them; and to this the gentelmen of these parts, soo many of them as are heire, hawe most willingly aggreed, as also to doe thaire endevoure to seize all horses, meares, & victuall, but ware not willing to be lyable to a fyne if these escaped them, becawse ye victuall is easily concealed & the horses not easily caught, yett they are still lyable to the paynes of the proclamations notwithstanding of thaire bond; and there is a new proclamatione ordered to be drawn against thursday nixt for a farther restraint on the victuall. The Militia was also under consideratione, & the suppressing of conventicles in this place, & the severall comittees for these affaires appoynted to meett; that of ye militia mett this afternoone & hath resolved on a letter to be sent to the severall shyres for minding them of thaire deutie in yat affaire. The other is to meett the morrow in the afternoone, & to call before them the proveist of this place for renewing of their bond, to suppress conventicles or pay 50 pounds sterlin for everie on of these meetings discovered to be kept in this toune. There was a great com-

plaint made to the boord that qwakers* ware suffered to meett soo frequently & many together in the north parts of this kyngdome, & particularly of Swinton, who went north in the late great storme, with sume English in his companie, and is now ordered to be seized and caryed to Dumbartone castle, to remaine prisonare without the access of any of that sect. The Earle of Linlithgow sent heire this afternoone one M^r. John Rae, ane outid minister, whom he had caused catch at Ffinlastone, the Earle of Glencairne's house, on soonday last, where there was a verie numerowse conventicle. He was examyned this afternoone by the Lord Chancelloure & severals of the Councill who ware mett abowt the regulatiōne of courts. He confessed that & severall other conventicles to hawe been kept by him, & the baptizing of a great many chyldren in severall places of the countrie, yett wold not promise to liwe orderly in the future, & is close prisonare in this tolbuith. I hawe sent to your lo/ heire ane few of the proclamatiōnes against the papists, finding that there hawe not any of them been sent before, for which I craue your lo/ humbly pardon & for the tediowsnes of this letter, yett will not end till I acknowlege that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lo/ most humble & most obliged servant,

THOMAS HAYE.

* See the two following letters. In England Quakers and Jesuits were regarded with equal suspicion. William Penn was indeed publicly accused by Tillotson with being a Jesuit. The fact, too, that Jesuits were found (or said to be found) in disguise as Quakers strengthened the idea [*Broadmead Records*]. It is unnecessary to add that the Quakers could look for no sympathy from Presbyterians.

CXX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23133, f. 34.]

Edenbr. 3 Merch, '70.

The exchequer adjournid yisterday till the 7 of Aprile, & after-noun the committee for the indulgenc meet, uher the primate beeing present I had ane hour's intertainment of him befor the rest meet. After many fears & jealousys & general complaints ue agreed uel enought. The comittee recomendid 4 & 5 ministers mor, & the council this day aloud them ; the prowost & baylays did renew ther [bond] for kiping the toun free of conventicles, & letters uer prepard & orders for supressing the meetings of qwakers in the north. The comiss: of the treasury meet all the fornoun, & the council in the afternoun dispatchid the bussines of Irish cattel ; by the nixt yow shal have the act, bond, & printid proclamations, the bussines of the militia & all other bussines ; & uhen ue uer about to rise (having got informations as ue sat doun of a general meeting of qwakers from all the corners of the country to be this afternone ue had sent the baylays to ceas them), the baylays brought us the account of 23 qwakers ceasid at a meeting about the uest port, of uhich number uer Swintoun & Reaburne,^a S^r Will Scot's son ; the council sent them to prisone & apointid Kincardin, the register, & I to examn the hole bussnes to-morow & report to the council at 4 a klok at night: ther ar two paper books got amongst them containig ther numbers, nams, placis, & tims of meeting, monthly & quarterly, ther mariagis, & the ways how they seduce by sending emisarys to visit thos uhom they heare of & to confirme all that ar falling of. [Lat]terly a great many of ther practisis ar discoverid ; yow shal have a fuller account by the nixt. Swintoun is appointid to goe to Dumbartin castel, & of the rest to morow. Yours of the 26 I had this morning ; if the Parl: com not the lenght of drawing.

^a I do not find these cases, or indeed this matter of Quakers, mentioned in Wodrow.

a comissione & condescending on the pours they doe not ther part & that will discover what may be expectid; bot all this succes in the King's affairs in soe short a time maks me hop far beyond expectatione. See Dst B Adiew.

CXXI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23133, f. 42.]

Edenb: 5 Mar: '70.

Yesterday in the forenoon some of the quackers that were catcht the night before were examined by a committie. That w^h was found by the examination was little other then what was found by their bookes, that is that they are settling themselves into an order, by establishing their weekly, monethly, & quarterly meetings, their weekly for their devotions, their monethly for takeing caire of their poore, & of orphans, & of scandales, & what difficulties they meet with at these are carried to their quarterly meetings; at the weekly meetings are only those of a smale precinct, at the moonethly some from diverse weekly meetings, & at the quarterly some from diverse monethly meetings. This was a quarterly meeting, & at it they hade two English men, one from Northumberland, and one of Lancashire who came along with J. Swinton. They hade under their consideration the buying of ground for a buriall place, & a meeting house, & by their papers wee find that they are upon the same course in other places, & that at Aberdeen they have already got the ground for a burial place. The councell have dismissed all but J. Swinton, Scott of Reaburne, one of Dumfreis, & James Broune, the master of the house where the meeting was. J. Swinton is to be sent to Sterling castle, formerly it was ordered to Dumbarton, and now they are speaking of an intention he hath to go some farre off voyage to the East Indies, and in that case he is to be suffred to go to liberty eight dayes before he go away. Nay I am of opinion that if he will say that he will go out of the contrie

& when he returns that he shall enter himself to the clarke of the councell, I beleve he will upon that condition get his liberty. He hath strong friends in the councell, but he is very perverse in his wey & a wicked firebrand to promote that sect w^h may prove more dangerous then many are aware of.^a Reaburne is to go to Jed-buroug, where he was before prisoner, & the other two are to remaine prisoners here, & non of their oune principles to be allowed to see them in prison. This was orderd by the councell, w^h did meet yesterday in the evning for that purpose only.

ADiew.

CXXII.—ROBERT LEIGHTON, BISHOP OF DUMBLANE, TO
THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 10.]

May it please yo^r Grace,

Ed^r Ap^r 6 [1670].

I am so far from attracting vanity upon it, that knowing how infinitely I am below his Ma^{ties} good opinion, it falls as a weight upon me, & sinkes mee so much y^e deeper into y^e shame & greif of my utter incapacity for y^e service requir'd of mee, for, besides an infirm & diseased body, I have that invincible indisposition of mind, & am so extreemly weary of the trifling contentions of this part of y^e world, that in stead of engaging further in them, I intend an entire escape out of them, but (as his Ma^{tie} enioyn'd mee upon my former attempting it at London) I shall doe it here, and in the most orderly way y^t may bee without his Ma^{tie} at all with it: And this I was resolv'd to doe this sumer, or at furthest towards y^e end of this year, before there was any mention of this remoov.^b for the truth is, My Lord, I am greatly ashamed that wee have occasion'd so much trouble, & done so litle or no good, now these seven or eight years since y^e restitution of our order, & after so many favours

^a The entire novelty of Quaker doctrines seems to have puzzled even so clear-headed a man as Kincardine.

^b Leighton was now induced to succeed Burnet, in order that the policy of conciliation might have the best chance of success.

heapt upou us by his Mat^{ties} Royall goodnesse, not that I would reflect y^e blame of this upon any, save my own share of it upon my self; for, may bee, It is not so much o^r fault as our unhappinesse & y^e reveschnesse^a of y^e matter wee have to work upon. But, however, hee that can sitt down content with honour & revenue without doing good, especially in so sacred a function, hath I think a low & servile soul; but to trouble yo^r grace no further, I doe for my pardon in this affair humbly confide in his Mat^{ties} clemency, & next to that in yo^r grace's favourable representation & intercession, w^{ch} shall add very much to y^e many obligements of

My Lord,

Y^r Grace's

Most humble servant,

R. LEIGHTON.

CXXIII.—MEMORANDUM OF BISHOP LEIGHTON.

[To be read in connection with the foregoing letter.]

The true reasons both of my purpose of retiring from my present charge, & of declining a greater, are briefly these.

1. the sense I have of ye dreadfull weight of whatsoever charge of souls, or any kind of spirituall inspection over people, but much more over ministers; & withall of my own extream unworthinesse & unfitnessse for so high a station in ye church.

2. the continuing divisions & contentions of this church & ye litle or no appearance of their cure for our time.

3. The earnest desire I have long had of a retir'd & private life, w^{ch} is now much increased by sicklinesse & old age drawing on, & ye sufficient experience of ye folly & vanity of y^e world, and in a word, it is rerū humanarū fastidium.

^a I cannot determine the meaning of this word; it is possibly connected with "renery," noise or disorder.

Whatsoever I might add more, I forbear, for I confesse, after all I could say, I expect little right or fair construction from y^e world in this matter, but rather many various mistakes and miscensures on all hands; but soe that y^e relief is, that in y^e reatreat I design, I beleev I shall not hear of them, or if I doe I shall not feel them.

CXXIV.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 42.]

MY LORD,

Ed. the 16 of June [1670.]

Uie have sat this night in counsill till eaght acklock, and have resevid severall informasiouns consarning conventickells; thay ar reallie becum verie insolant and much mor numerus. I reseved an informasioun which uas red in counsill, the dubell wherof is heare inclosid, acording to uich uie have ishouied out ordirs to sit [?] sum, and secur others. Ther uas an partie of my Lord Neuborus troupe had notis of on of their mitings,* and uent to the ples, bot it being at an mos sayd thay uent in to the mos and laft at the partie, and tould the ofisier at an distans that thay uear for the King, but so long as thay had layf, thay should never be quayied so long as ther uear fourtin bishoups in Scotland, and desayrd the ofisier to lay down his earms and thay uold speack uith him: ther number uas about fiftin or sixtin hunder, most of them men, and the partie uas bot siuin or eaght, so thay nather got so much as on prisonar, nor the least informasioune.

* * * *

Yours.

* Apparently that described by Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 156.

CXXV.—CHARLES R.

[Instructions to John Earle of Lauderdale, our Commissioner, for the ensuing Session of Parliament.]

[23134, f. 53.]

* * * * *

3. At the first meeting of our Parl^t, after intimation of our Commission, reading of our letter to our Parl^t, & your declaring our further pleasur concerning the Union & other things committed to your care, You shall, in pursuance of that dutifull offer which our Parl^t made to us in their former session, indeavour that an Act of Parl^t be past empowering such Commissioners, & such a quorum of them as wee shall name to meet at such time & place as wee shall appoint, for treating with the Commissioners appointed by us for our Kingdom of England : and that this Act be suitable to the Act past here in our Parl^t of England for that purpose.

4. In pursuance of which Act you shall take care that a Commission be past under our Great Seal of Scotland in the termes that wee have past one here for that treaty. In which Co^mmission you shall insert such names as wee shall transmit to you, signed with our hand.

6. You shall indeavor that by Act or Acts of Parl^t more effectuall courses be laid down for preventing & punishing schismaticall withdrawals from the settled churches & the ordinances therein ;^a & for suppressing conventicles & other unlawfull & seditious convocations of the lieges, by defining conventicles, layin on proportionable penalties according to the degrees of them, & generally & above all, for securing the peace of that our Kingdom.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 7 day of July, 1670, & of our Raigne the 22th year.

C. R.

^a Conciliation is now given up ; henceforward Lauderdale's conduct, under the influence of Lady Dysart, is vulgar and brutal. See Wodrow, vol. ii. pp. 166 and following. Burnet, 292.

CXXVI.—PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS FROM CHARLES II. TO THE
EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 57.]

CHARLES R.

Privat Instructions.

Whereas on the one hand Wee have so far extended Our Indulgence to such as pretend scruples as to allow diverse Ministers, who dissent from the establisht government of the church, to exercise their ministry as long as they continue to be peaceable and orderly; on the other hand, lest the seditious spirits of some disorderly & obstinat people may keep up Conventicles & other unlawfull meetings, which must tend to the disturbance of the publick peace, for curbing whereof it may be fit to use utmost severities, after advice had with Our privy Council, according to your Instruction, you shall concurr & pass such Acts as shall be iudged fit. And if it be found fit by Our parliament that an Act be past, obliging all who profess the protestant Religion to keep their parish churches, & attend the ordinances there; & for that end requiring Heritors to give bond for themselves, their Men, Tennants & servants, & requiring their Men, Tennants & servants to give them countersecurity; & in case Heritors refuse or delay to give such security, giving power to Our Privy Council to set them a competent time for performance thereof; wherein if they fail, they may charge them, within 6 moneths thereafter to dispose of their estates, & remove themselves & their families out of the kingdom: & in case they fail therein, the Council to dispose of their estates at the best rates that can be had for the time, for the owners' behoof, & cause transport them & their families out of Scotland at their own charge. And in case Tennants refuse to give countersecurity, that they shall forfeit their Tacks to the behoof of the Heritors & be themselves transported out of the Kingdom, as Our Privy Council shall appoint, at our charge if they have not wherewithall to defray it themselves: for which end their goods may be valued

and disposed of; the rest being reserved for the owner's use: and that a suitable course be taken with Burgesses of Royall Burghs, & others; you shall thereto give Our Royall assent in parliament.

Likewise if it shall be iudged fit that another Act be past for the more effectuall suppressing & punishing of Conventicles & other seditious & unlawfull Convocations & meetings of Our Lieges, defining Conventicles & enioining penalties for such unlawfull practises, ordaining that y^e persones who shall presume to preach, pray, marry, or administer any of y^e sacram^{ts}, or make any exhortation at such conventicles or unlawfull meetings be banisht or secured in prison in such places of the kingdom as Our Privy Council shall think fit, & while they give good security they shall do so no more. And ordaining that where unlawfull conuocations shall grow to that hight as to need any part of the Militia for suppressing them, Our privy Council shall have full power to lay the entertainment of such Militia Troops or Companies so to be employed according to the Establishment for the Militia, upon the delinquents in those shires where such unlawfull Convocations shall happen to be, & this to the end that neither the innocent nor our revenues be thereby burthened. In the framing of which Act in all circumstances, as well as in the altering of any thing set down in this & the foregoing Instruction, or adding thereto what other seuerities shall be thought fit, you shall take advice of Our Privy Council, & the same being past in parl^t you shall thereto give Our Royall assent.

And if it be thought necessary by Our Privy Council for the better securing y^e peace of the kingdom that any of Our subiects' Houses be garrisoned, & that one or more troops of Horse, foot, or dragoons be raised, the parliam^t approving the same, & providing for their entertainment & passing the same into an Act, you shall thereto give Our Royall assent.

C. R.

CXXVII.—PRIVATE INSTRUCTION FROM CHARLES II. TO THE
EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23314, f. 59.]

CHARLES R.

Privat Instruction.

* * * * *

You shall, with the advice of such as you shall think fit, consider whether or not it be fit that, to the end the memory of the late unlawfull covenants may not be perpetuated, an Act be passed by which the declaration against the covenants is not to be required of any who was not eleven year old when the covenants were last renewed in the year 1650, & so was not in capacity to have taken them, nor required of any who shall declare he never took these covenants nor any of them: and for the same reasons, that the declaration shall not be required of any after the time limited in England; and accordingly you shall indeavour that an Act be past to that effect or forbear the same.

You are to require the Lord Archbishop of St. Andrew's to allow & authorise the transportation of such ministers as shalbe lawfully presented to any of the churches within the diocese of Glasgow, & approved by the Bishop of Dunblane, out of any Church within the diocese of St. Andrew's, & that he enioin the bishops within his province to do the like.

If you finde it fit to publish our orders & constitutions, you shall in our name signify to the archbishops & bishops that our pleasure is that no minister be preiudiced or molested for his privat opinions concerning Church Government, providing he is in with the church meetings and submit to the present Government, and in his preaching & all other parts & exercises of his ministry, & in his whole conversation, do behave himself peaceably & orderly as becomes a minister of the gospell. Given at our Court at Whitehall the 7th day of July 1670, & of our raigne the 22th year.

C. R.

CXXVIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO SIR ROBERT
MORAY.

[23134, f. 51.]

Halyrudshous, 2 August, 1670.

Yesterday morning we met in the committee of counsell; in the afternoon we met in the articles, where in obedience to my instruction I did move in generall for a supply for the expens of the Commissioners & repaire of his Maj^{ties} houses, especially this & Sterlin. It was unanimously agreed that the King should receive a supply, but coming to debate how much, some wold have referd it to me, but I waved that, some moved for too much, w^{ch} I also declind; some out of their lauchable humor of contraction abstracted it. Indeed it was but one,* yow may guess him, but I crave leave to forbear eaming till I see how he carries to morow in Parl. Alwayes the obstruction did good for whereas my instruction was 3 moneths' cess, w^{ch} is but 15,000^{lb} sterlin, the articles frankly voted 30,000^{lb}. The summe will seem contemptible in England, but trust me it is a greater summe to this poore kingdome then threitie times so much in England; alwayes yow must say nothing of it to any bodie but the King himself till I see what the Parl. does in it to morrow. This day the articles met & past ane Act to be reported to morrow in Parliament for forcing people to depose before the counsell when required. For the desperat parliamentairs heir when taken for feild conveniences have got a new trick, they refuse to be examined upon oath. We have now 6 or 7 lying in thair on this account heir, w^{ch} makes the law necessary. The penalty is very severe; when it passes to morrow (as I am confident it will) yow shall have a copy

* *Emilia. Macdonald. p. 12.*

* Fines and other improvements, or burthens, he sending them to his Majesty's parliament in the kindes or quantities as his Majesty's pleasure shall think fit. And as to deposeing. Special instructions are given in the rigorous enforcement of this law.

of it for the King, I adjorned the debate of the way how to raise the summe voted because I wold have it first agreed in Parl^t, when that is done we shall then fall upon the way of raising it. This morning we met againe at the Co^mitte; our worke is Long, but assoone as we are ready the King shall have a full account of it *

* * * * *

Adieu.

[The following Letters (Nos. CXXIX. to CXXXVII. inclusive) were accidentally omitted. They should have been placed between Letters XCII. and XCIII. p. 137. They refer chiefly to the indulgence of "outed" ministers.]

CXXIX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 32.]

Edenbr: 27 Jully, 1669.

This comitte of counsell did meet yisterday in the Afternoone, & upon reading our report concerning the manner of admitting the outid ministers to preach, My Lord St. Andrew's renewid the hole debait as in the begining, enqwiring uhat was meant by "peacable & orderly," to uich he was ansuerid as befor & according to the instructions: then upon the injunctiōe to constitut kirke sessions he inqwird if they uer to exercise all ecclesiastike discipline therin & rune out upon the inconveniēcis; he was ansuerid only such as was usual & noe other. Then upon kiping presbetrys & synods as down by all ministers preceeding 38 he critisid a great uhile, said it might be construid to be as they had bein kipid preceeding 1592, & wold have had us say betuixt 92 & 38, bot ue wold not reside a word from the letter, & said ther could be noe time meant bot the years immediatly preceeding 38; then why synods uer left out in the following claws & whyther this command for kiping presbetrys & synods did sett them up again, to uich it was ansuerid, it was

lik few of the outid ministers uold think soe, & that thes debates did counteract the intent of the King's letter which certainly was to have them comply with the present government & com as great a lenght as by any means they could be brought; uheras thes debaits uold rays new doubts & scruples in all men's minds: ther was noe mor neid of explanatione, if any at all, of a letter urott to us, wherof the purpose & intent was soe clear: at lenght ue got over the debait & preparad the hole report for the councel. This morning I uent early to him & spoke my mind fully & freely of yisterday's uork, how he had changid his way of submision (upon impressions from uithout) to debaitting the King's pleasur & frustrating all that he could the King's desing in this indulgenc, & gieving a rise & ground for the evils he feard, for nothing could render them mor insolent then his opostione & apearig discouragment; that I was sur ue should gett good by this remeed if he did not obstruct it, & shew him the first part of your letter repeating your dialogue u^t Jams Stewart at lenght. I had a free accomt from him of the assawlt he had from Bishops & Ministers, & from Glasgow who had bein with him that morning, beeing com the night befor, that they onc desingd to have sent on up uith a petitione which he had vigorously oposid, or that any thing should be doun bot by yow ther, & without acquainting of me heir, & soe had putt them from it; thus ue partid ucal satissied u^t other, & way was mead for all matters going smoth to day at councel, which provid soe: for noe on different expressione or motion was mead from the comitte's resolutions, the Bishops submittid, & the hole councel aprovid the report which yow have heir inelosid; som of the ministers uho had bein namid to churchis uer layd asid becaws under sensur for not kiping of presbetrys, & the Archbishops upon desir of the councel promisid to tak them of. The Primate said of himself uith the asistanc of the ministers of the bands, the other said he had censurd in the Synode & by ther wote & most neids tak it of soe, & yitt at lenght said the conncel desiring it he thought ther consent uold suffic, which the primate declind & said the uold speak of the way

between them selws: ther uill be about 5 or 6 of thos y^t ar under
 censur yett to com in & as many to Argyle uho speak Irish & thes
 will be enew for tryal at this time. * * * *

CXXX.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
 LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 36].

Edenbr: 29 July, '69.

Sinc tewsday morning that I had the discours with the primate
 I urott of to yow, matters goe prettee smoothly with him, & the
 Arch B: of Glascow beeing with me this morning I gave him the
 second part to the sam tune, bot mor hom, till his eye stood bak
 watter as we say. He regrattid much that he had caws to apprehend
 yow wer not pleasid uith him, & protestid he was ready to serve
 yow wherin he could with a good conscens & justic, which he took
 this case to be, yitt concludid a absolut submissione to the King's
 commands & for the taking of the censurs promisid to doe it for
 thos the council desird again the first council day in Septemb: &
 my Ld St. Andrew's does it presently. The warrands uer singd
 to the ministers this afternounge at council, & a proclamacione orderid
 concerning conventicles, colectors namid for the waccant stipends,
 som furder cours taken uith the highlands, a proclamacione apointing
 the cheif of clans to come in yearly to find cawtion, & a commis-
 sione orderid for bring in som of the outlaws. The laird of Glen-
 urchy hes gott a comissione to persew Dumbeath & to garisone his
 hows to kip him out of that country. A petitione from Mondrogat
 to the council transmittid & recommended to yow, & a great many
 priwat bussines. I comend My lord chancclour for taking the thorne
 soe handsomly out of his ouen foot by offering yow the hous he had

refussid the dutches,* & soe left her nether uhat to do nor say for apoligue upon soe rude one occasione, bot I shal heir in a day or two uhat can be said. Dst Br. Adiew.

CXXXI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 46.]

Edenb: 3^d Aug: '69.

To day in Councell 12 ministers receaved their orders for their severall parishes; 5 more warrands were given to E. Argyle for his contrie, And one to D. Hamilton, so that in all there is 18 licensed at this tyme. They were all cald before the councell togither, but no body els suffred to come in. And after reading to evry one their warrand, it was delivered to him by the clerke, and it was a peece of pagentry to see them make their leg in receiving it. Thereafter an act of Councell was reade before them containing the certifications in case of their misbehaviour, which are in the King's letter. And when all was done Mr. Hutchesone made a very discreet & pertinent little speech in their names; telling that he was desyrd by them to returne their most humble & most hearty thanks to his Ma^{tie} in the first place, & then to the Councell that hade remembred them in their low condition, & hade granted them a liberty to preach the gospel; that they had received their ministry from Christ & thanked their lo^{ps} for allowing them liberty to exercise it. That notwithstanding their known judgement in church matters, that they should so behave themselves as it should be seen they were sober & loyale, & that out of a principle of conscience. And so praying God to blesse the King & Councell in very handsome tearms, he made a leg & exit with his traine, w^h some rogues, because they were twelve in number, cald the twelve apostles of the Councell.

* Of Hamilton.

Thus past this first step of this assay w^h is the occasion of much talking to all sorts of people. And we are informed that the desperat party are setting all their wits a worke to have people forbear hearing any of them as much as these they call curats. And that foolish people may not take occasion from this indulgence to some, to take liberty to themselves, there is this day past in Councell a new proclamatione forbiding conventicles, and withdrawing from church, w^h I suppose yow have sent yow by the clerkes. The sale of the forfaulted estates goes on but slowly, so that wee beginne to despaire of getting them off that way, And wee have been trying if those who are to have precepts upon what shall be got for them wold take land for it & wee find that as difficult.

A Diew.

CXXXII.—[*Endorsed.*] MR. HUTCHINSON'S DISCOURSE TO THE COUNCIL.^a

[23132, f. 49.]

MY LORDS,

I am desired by my brethren to returne our humble & thankfull acknowledgment of his Ma^{ties} favour toward those ministers who now for a long time have wanted liberty publickly to preach the gospell; and humbly to thank your lo/ for your care and pains in that matter, and that you have bene pleased to nottice us (the unworthiest of many of that number) and to make us so early partakers of that favour.

My Lords, having receaved the trust of a ministry from Christ, for the discharge whereof, according to his prescription, we most give an account to him, there can nothing in time be more refreshfull & acceptable to us, then a liberty to goe about that service, and

^a Inclosed in Tweeddale's letter of Aug. 3, 1669. It varies in some respects, especially in the last paragraph, from Wodrow's version.

to trade for gaineing of souls to Christ, under the protection and countenance of Lawfull authority, an ordinance of God which hath bene and is most dear & precious unto us, & in the improvment of this liberty granted unto us we doe purpose, by the grace of God to demeane ourselvs with that wisdome & prudence which becometh faithfull ministers of the gospell, and so as (notw'standing our knowen judgments concerning church matters) may wittnesse that we are loyall subjects, and y^t upon a principall of conscience.

We close with our humble and hearty prayers to God, that he may richly blesse his Ma^{tie} in his royall person & government, and that your lops may be blessed in your administerations, & may be made more & more instrumentall to communicate the influences & effects of his Ma^{ties} singullar moderation (for which he is famed through the world) to his people.

CXXXIII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 52.]

Edenbr: 4 Agust, 1669.

If any hes urott to yow (as I suppose they uold) of the late Intrans Ministers (whom the fanaticks call the counsell's curats) ther behaviour, som of them telling the people that they uer not ther ministers but uer allowed by the King (uhom they extold for it) to preach to them during His pleaur, & that they should look on them as men who have not changid ther principals, that in ther prayers as they blissid God for what the King had down soe they prayid he might follow forth soe good a work & readmitt all the outtid. That all of them continewd ther way of lecturing befor sermone, & that they intend to turne of the Kirk sesione all thos who have bein

theron sinc the establishing of Bishops ; Lett not thes things troubel
or alarum yow, for first that discours of som at ther beginning to
speak to the peopel is not aprowd by all & the chang of elders uill
be prevented by the soberer sort amongst them, & in time I hop
the lecturing left of as disconforme to the rest of the church, & all
who uer admittid this councel day will forbear it. I spok uith Mr.
Hutchisone, bot could not gett his promise though he aprovid uhat
I said, & I sent MR. Douglas to him, uho I think will prewail &
hes bein uery instrumental & still is to have all things goe ueal: heir
is the duke's letter of ane account from his country & treuth is the
Arch Bis: of glasgow & his clergy ther grumblings and open pro-
fessing ther groundles fears & aprehensions doe rais thes peopel mor
then all is down ; for that is the ground of ther fanatike prophecys,
the fear of ther enemys. Yisternight the E of Kincardin the
Advocat & I lookid on MR. [? Moray's] paper & debaittid it, bot ar
not satisfyed theruith, for first ue think it soe general & ample that
it uill give ground of jelowsie to all as if som strang thing uer
intendit, that it wold pleas few or non & that it neids mor an expla-
natione then the lait acts, & ue think it uill be nesescar to doe
somuhat explicitly by the parliament qwalifying the present govern-
ment, that soe the fanatiks' hops may be terminatid uho rays ther
expectations from thenc & if it pleas them not all yitt it will soe
many as uill qwit break ther interest & diwide them, and as we shal
manadge the cours ue ar on we shal mak thos uho com in last give
always better conditions, & make all partys strive uho shal pleas
awtority most, least anything should com to the King's ears by any
of the Bishops * * * *

CXXXIV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 56.]

Edenbr: 5 Agust, 1669.

* * * * *

Yisternight lait I was with My lord Primate, & finding Glasgow & Aberdeen with him, I uent asid with him to his chamber & told him it was now time to putt Glasgow to it; that the king beeing fully purposed to have a wisitatione that noe means may be left unesseyed to calme & qwiet the minds of thos peopel uho had taken as much offenc at the persons putt in as at the putting out of the minesters they had, it uold be fitt for him to bestir himself & doe somuhat, that if possibley the extrordinar wisitatione might be preuentid, & if he did his part it uold be better for him, mor for the reputatione of the clergy, & alay the animosity of the presbeterians against them: that it uold be easy for him to purg the church of thos he had putt in himself, by calling them to him, charging them with uhat he did heir of them, & doubtles they, beeing conscios of ther insuffieency & threatnid with ane extraordinar wisitatione, they uold disir of him that they might demitt without mor adoe; this relishid extraordinarily with the primat, uho was about to dispose them to a wisitatione, bot had great difficulty in it: soe that with much cheerfulness he undertooke to mak Glasgow doe all was requird, & this morning Glasgow cam to me, & beeing mightly mortified mead great acknowledgments & promisis to follou advic, & that befor September I should see uhat he uold doe, that he uold com in then & give ane account; he professid a full satisfacione with the cours & that he was now confident that noe prejudic was intendit to ther order, so that I shal now humbly offer that this comissione may sleep a littel till ue see uhat effects the indulgenc grauntid shal have & uhat the Bishops uill doe of themselws. Sinc they can if the will purg the church with mor eas of thos them selws have plantid then a comissione could doe, &

in much shorter time. Ther smelling Erastianisme striks terrour in both partys & the commons they say call it Rogischly Rascalisme. Both the Arch B. ar now gone out of toune & ue uer all this day imployd in accounts, hoping to gett out of toune on Satterday; yow gott the proclamatiōe by the last pakquet. My lady Balcaris is now [with] me. Soe D^t B^r Adiew.

CXXXV.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 61.]

Yester, 10 Agust, 1669.

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I hop better of our indulgenc then ever, & that the persons admittid uill be soberer then is expectid from them; the desperat of that partee ar mad uith it & som run about to diswad the peopel from heiring them, uich if it succed maks ther preaching mor orderly & if not stuts a diuisione amongst them, & I am sur already they ar & uill never com to that count they uer; the Bishops now see it & most the primate, though they can not think of lessning ther pour without troubel & grife: bot had ue thes tuo as once the Usurper Oliver had the publik resolutioners & protesters the fild uer uon; for all ther heatrid they liuid in pac, though the publik party uas stronger & caryed all & soe most our publik resolutioners & have the wisible awtority still in ther hands; protectione is enoug for thos uho ar peacable of other perswasione: & Rods in pis for the incorigible.

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CXXXVL.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 65.]

[C]ulros: 12 August, '69.

I'm affrayd it be found that yow have too much reason for your feare ; that those who have receaved the benefit of the King's letter shall not prove worthy of it. I know non of them but two for whom I thinke I dare be ansuerable, but I am told by those that know most of them that the horse hath been too much by guesse, and I suspect that those who are not well pleased with the letter, were willing to have unfit persones have the benefite of it. For when they were named according to the best information could be hade they were approven & attested to be discreet persons by those who should know them well enough. But now jacta est alea, it must have its ventur, a little tyme will put it to a tryell, & if they abuse his Ma^{tie} favour they ought to be more severely delt with then ever. Another difficultie I find in it is, a great grumbling in these parts of the contrie which have continued quiet, that they, because they have been so, must be denyed the benefit w^h the westernne parts have procured to themselves by their being turbulent. How to remede this will be difficult, for to set up these ministers againe in those parts where the people have continued quiet & seemingly satisfied would probably provocke new humours. And to neglect those ministers who have been always peaceable since they were outed may possibly make them grow ill natured.

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CXXXVII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23132, f. 85.]

Edenbr: 2 Septemb: 1669.

Yisterday in the fornoun the councel meet & only appointid the comittee for outtid minsters & the comittee for the higlands to meet in the afternounge & did other country affairs. the comittee after long discourse of the primate & archbishop in ther old manner, the archbishope insisting much that the censurs could not be taken of bot by the synode, I uas forcd to debait that matter hom & tell him the censur was foundid on ane act of parl., & not on any cannon of the church & the King's pleasure to remitt the penal part of the act for kiping of presbetrys wirtually wacatid, the censure & the counceles actings upon his Ma^{tes} commands uer not fitt to be canwassid in the synods. After uce cam to the nominatione of fyve or six uhereof MR. Douglas was one for Penkettland. The other comittee meet after & drew a comissione for taking bonds of all the heads of familys of the several clans to the number of 56, according to a list I had given me, & another comissione for taking 12 of the most notorious theevs & broken men, wherof the nams uer also given in ane list: both which comissions uer past this day in councel, & I hop yow shal have a good accomt of them, & the desinge broken of making disqueet in thes parts to be your uealcome hom.

was seen, that is some 2 or 3000 armes of all sorts, so ranged & placed about the walls that you never saw a prettier sight, insomuch as it is well worth a journey from london to see that alone. But besides his rooms are so prettily furnisht & so neat, you will say when you see them perhaps as the king does, that certainly the prince doth not ly there, the rooms are so neat. He gave the King a Very Noble dinner about 3 aclock, after which the King slept a little in his chair.

This morning he was up at 5 aclock to go to Hampton Court, where he may finde the Queen at fishing, a Recreation wherein shee takes so much pleasure that shee is at it a mornings by 6 aclock. Before he went I shew him your last, & askt his commaunds to you, but he had none, onely you will be wellcome. As he was going to his coach I askt him when he would be at Whitehall, & he told me he could not tell whether it would be on Saturday or Monday next, by which you may judge as I do it will be the last, for he is to go to Hampton Court on Saturday, & I do not as yet intend to be at Whitehall before him, unless your letters which I expect on fryday bid me do otherwise. I askt the King when he expected the D. of B.;* hee told me at the day of Judgement in the Valley of Jehosophat; for he hath twice or thrice told him, he is to part within a day or two. But he is expected on Thursday next, & J. Eli [?] told me yesternight hee is expected this night at London. By your setting forth from yester yesterday I guess this will meet you about Allerton. There is a Convoy lying in the Downes of 2 of his M^{ties} Fregates staying for some marchant ships that are carrying towards the straits between 30 & 40,000 broad cloths & other English commodities, in all to the value of 1,200,000 lb. They say the D. of Lorraine held correspondence with the french Rebels in Vivarets. Before this come to your hands, you will have told me where & when to meet you, till then, ADieu.

* He was at present on an embassy to Paris, where he was being completely duped on the subject of the Dorn treaty, both by Charles and Louis.—See Dalrymple's Memoirs.

CXLI.—ANNE, COUNTESS OF LAUDERDALE, TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.^a

[23134, f. 123.]

Paris, 22 September [1670 ?]

I heir that the hous of hayghat is laik to fal, that part of it that my mother buelt ; I wos all ways afeired that the gret weight that wos in the head of the hous wold bring a old hous on my head and so I bilive you have hard me seay, for it was bot a peper (? paper) hous and not abel to indeur no gret wight. I wold deseir you that you wold caus carei your bouks doune to some of the rouns below and that you wold make some peipel that hes skeil to sei it and that it may be repered in tim or els it will fal doune this winter. You know it tis main bot for my leiftime, and then to come to your posteretei, and that it tis not in my pour to lef it from them, ther for I make no dout of your reperin of it, and in speshal sins your bouks hes bin the ocaseion of it. You bid me have a cair of the leitel think I had for my posteretei, so as I make no dout of your cair of them, the leitel proporseion that I have will not keip me heir weith out I had got the hous in hayhgate let, and that ther hade bine no ses of my houses in Aldersget Streit and haightgate for as I told you when I came forst to France I cold not live onder fiftin hunder pound a yeir, I have wreiten menei leters to you and the last at the desayr of the good Minnesters of Charenton ; I shal deseir an anseur to what thay deseired of you.

^a She had been sent to France for her health ; though, it is elsewhere stated, this was merely an excuse on Lauderdale's part to get rid of her. The handwriting of this letter is very broken. Her father was Alexander, first Earl of Hume, and her mother a daughter of Edward Sutton, Baron Dudley.

CXLII.—THE EARL OF TWEEDDALE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.^a

[23134, f. 125.]

Edenbrught, 27 Septemb: 1670.

My last was from Glasgow upon fryday befor noun. After dinner I was inwittid by the magistrats to ther tounhoos to be mead burges & had I belive the treat was prowiddid for the Duk of Lenox, when he was to goe west, & could gett noe furdur then falkirk. The E. of Dindonald cam in about 4 a cloke & took me out with him to paslay; the nixt morning I had advertisment that the ministers I had urott for uer com to Glasgow & I mead hast in. After I had spoke with thos of the plac, on Ramsay & Mr Bardy, uhon I found ueal enought disposid to the proposals, soe Nostre fils uent to Dumbartine to see that place & the E. of Dindonald & I uent to Glasgow in his coatch & uer ther about noon. We uent first to that end of the toun the Bishop is lodgid in, & wisite my lady Montrose, & brought the bishope with us to my lodging uher MR. Hutchisone, MR. Uedderburne, & MR. Bardie cam to us. I demandit of them uhat returne they had to give to the proposals mead by the Comis: in the abay upon the condescendenc of the Bishope & uhat they had doun therein. They said the had several meetings first of those that livid neir other then a general meeting the ueek befor at Wrwine [Irvine] uher all not beeing present, tymous advertisment nor full informatione of the proposals not beeing given, they uer nesescitate to putt of ther ansuer to another meeting, uich uas to be on uedensday com seauen-night the 12th of octob. Then I urgid ther dispatch of it then the ewil consequences of the continwid separatione, that non of the outid ministers how sober or deserwing soe ever could be aloud, nor ther help & assistanc got for tryal & purging of scandalous persons, uich the Bishop did profes that he much

^a This letter should be compared with the accounts in Burnet and Wodrow.

desird, & last from what influenc the reputatione of succes of indeawours, for pac & unity heir might have uith our nightbours for som indulgenc to sober men of a different perswasione who uold be contentid uith much les then wes offerid to them, thes took ueal & they promisid a returne the ueek after the nixt, that is about the midel of the nixt month, then the Bishope in a very sober & neat discourse exortid them to live in good corespondenc uith ther brethern & particularly uith thos itinerant ministers that uer com to suply the wacanys for a time that they might preach in others churchis & convers frequently & talk togither of thos matters proposid ; then MR. Gilbert ^a urgid that they might be present at ther meetings, uich relishid not at all uith them, thinking it uold rather doe hurt, bot MR. Georg ^b took him short & said they uer very uilling to meet & convers as occasione offerid & that he expectid a wisit from MR. Nairn & he was soe uayn (?) to think the first : to this Gilbert said that ther uer ther standing who hawing given him the first wisite might reasonably expect to have had the second from him, hawing bein all night in the toun, meaning the Bishope, who shoke his head therat, seeing MR. Georg could not reply & to tak them of I promisid MR. Nairn should mak the first wisit to Wrwine. Then ue partid all very frindly, & I talkid uith MR. George apart of what I thought not proper to be said in publike ; first that upon this returne did all the hops of accomadatione depend, the regulatiōe of episcopacy to a primitive model, & the alowanc of presbetry ; that if this condescendenc faild of settling & composing differencis, uich was lik to prove the ultimus conatus, the consequencis uold be troubelsom to them ; they behowid to tak them to ther consynment as by the warrant for the indulgenc was by his Ma^{tie} orderid, & doubtid they uold meet uith the incouradgement of ther stipends bot at best be left to the good uill of the paroshis & few mor be indulgid. Then I told him what good uold com of ther condescending besids the taking of the offenc all the uoreld had of them that they could not liue uith, nor tolerate

^a Burnet.^b Hutcheson.

any different opinione, & soe uer not to be toleratid; that uhat was now proposid & offerid by the Bishope might possibly be procurid from his Ma^{tie} to be the settlement of the church in all time coming, & uho know bot it might be the begining of mor fawour & indulgenc & produc such ane accomodatione in the matter of church government as might look mor primative then any yitt exercisid; & last I told him that I doubtid much they uer in a wrong way of debaitting that bussness & that noe good conclusion could be expectid by it, for they had callid togither the hole secludid ministers of that country uho uer for the most part Remonstrators or protesters & had different interest as ueal as judgment from the assembly men, & if uhen the uer the lesser number they callid themselws the sanior pars, & uold not acquesc in the publike resolutions, uhat uold the not doe to obstruct this accomodatione. Som of them uer not free to heir & should thes be consultid who uer professid separatists & congregational & not presbyterian, & that yit I confessid ther might be sober men of that party, & thos I knew uold not lay behind if honest sober men uho uer fere in ther judgments clossid uith the proposals, & therfor it uer fitter for them to resolve amongst themselves & draw thes others after them then urestle uith the disputacious humour of the hole party: uho uold at best prolong the resolutione till much of the good it could produc uer disapointid. He was as it seamid sensible of uhat I said, bot said ther was noe avoiding of that meetting apointid, & askid me MR. Douglas' judgment uich I professid not to know: he told me they had appontid som of ther number to com & speak to him, bot they ar such as signify not, soe ue partid, & I heiring that my ld. Duke intendit to have come to Glasgow to fetch me to hamiltoun if he had not fallen ill upon fry-day of a fitt of his siatik, I uent out to hamiltoune that night in obedienc to the dutiches' Insinwat Command, & uhen I cam uas mead most heartily uealcam by hir. My lord beeing tyed to his bed, ue had time to reckone our selws frinds, & I to conuinc my lady that it was mor my l^d Duke fautt then mein that all was not

according to her ouden mind, & to represent the adwantadge had bein taken of his humour agains all I could say to the contrary. On Munday morning MR. Adair & other of the ministers, on [?] and on Hamiltoune cam to me, & I had ane accomt of all they had doun from Adair, that at ther meetings ther is noe debait, all speaking of on sid, bot that he & MR. Miller doe speak a littel by way of ansuer, so that I am conwincid thes half wittid meetings can produc nothing, & unles they com to meet uith ther brethren in this country & fyfe, who ar public resolutioners, it uill come to nothing amongst y^m. Sinc I cam heir yisternight at 7 a cloke I have spoke uith MR. Douglas, & ue ar thinking of ther meeting in this plac after uedensday com seaven night, & from that meeting to mak the returne. This morning I had yours of the 22 you com good speed in the treaty, & hawing adwantadg in the debait of successours com ueal of & gain the point: Hawing your opinione & much mor the King's command, I shal be for taking security for Dikson's & bleketer's behaviour, though they sign not the bond themselws, for som of that gang uill not subscribe to the lord's prayer if askid of them, as all our fellow comissioners of the councel know & might have adwised as ueal the taking noe security, bot I am glad the King taks still best measurs of our bussines as he did of all the noic was mead of conventticles last spring, & separatione increasing, & I dar now assure yow give them Ministers such as ar uorthy to preach the gospel, & yow uill heir of nether, for that plac hes bein miserably Ruind uith the planting of insufficient scandalous imprudent young fellows, & the severitys of the souldiery, & at the present the very qwartering ther does mor hurt then all the security it brings is uorth,^a & yet awtority suffers mor then the peopel, who will not complean for a night or two transient qwarter, for soe the matter is orderid they never lay three nights in on plac & to be free of them they tak nothing from them; the remedy most be to give them ther winter qwarthers in great touns. Bellen-den is com heir, but Dindonald hes taken the gout, & maks his excuse, soe ther uill be noe exchequer, & if yow have forgate my

^a This testimony, coming from Tweeddale, is most valuable.

intended no offence to yow by it, so I did not thinke to have been put to vindicate myself of some things yow mention in your return. I am verie sure what ever I said in the last sessions of parl. I never spoke against the giveing obedience to his Ma^{ties} co^mmands in agreeing to a treatie of Unione, but was for it, tho in debate I differed in some things in the manner & way of careing it on, yet was never contrare in one vote. The good account S^r Wm. Sharp has given of the Lords of the Treasuries doeing ther part I never questioned, yet since yow ar pleased to go so far bake as to remember the offer I made of farmeing his Ma^{ties} revenew, I must beg leave to say that when that offer is duely ballanced with what has been broght in since by the farmers of the customes & excise, by ther way of collection, it will apear which had been most to his Ma^{ties} advantage. For the word neglect if I have not met with it from others then his Ma^{tie} (whom I did not mean it by) many ar mistaken as well as I am, & what favors & Honors his Ma^{tye} has bestowed on me, I shall make it my utmost indevor to improve them with all thankfullnes to his service. That I wished to have ground to expect friendship from yow was not that I had forgote your former testimonies of it, but that I desaired some new expressions of the continewance, & that past mistakes did not stike, but how unhappie soever I have been in the wording of all that letter, I desinged no other then respect for yow, in giveing yow notice what I had aprehensions of, which that it has met with so ill fortune as to worke the contrare effects is the regrate of,

My Lord,

Your lo/ most humble servant,

HAMILTON.

CXLVI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 172.]

Edenb. 5 Jan^r, '71.

* * * * *

To-day L^d Belenden came into the Theasury chamber & cald E. T., E. D. and my self asid & told us that he hade found a decay upon himself for a long tyme, so that he was no more fit to give that attendance that his place required, & therefor hade demitted his office into the King's hands, who he beleved wold shortly fill it with a person much fitter for it then ever he hade been. There was a silence amongst us, & so within a little he made a leg & exit, I suppose with intention not to returne any more, but wee will see to morow at the exchequer. A Diew.

CXLVII.—SIR ROBERT MORAY TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[Through the influence of Lady Dysart, Lauderdale had broken with Moray. This dignified letter is the only record, further than the absence of letters is significant, of the difference between them. That it is from Moray to Lauderdale is an assumption, for it is neither addressed, signed, nor endorsed. But I entertain no doubt upon the point.]

[23134, f. 134.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,

Whitehall, 19 Jan. 1671.

I did with much more satisfaction receive your tre dated 16 Decem^r then I did that of the 14 Novem^r. And though many unavoidable interruptions have occasioned the delay of the answer till now, yet I beseech yow beleive I was as farr from intending any neglect by this delay as yow was from intending offence by your former tre. The constructions that I putt upon it seemed to me very naturall, and as I was sory to be forced, for my oun sake, to such a returne as then made, soe ame I willing not to reply upon

the answeres yow here give, least it might continue a Dispute which I doe not desire to intertaine with your Grace; For I ame as willing as yow can be that not only past mistakes may not stick, but that bygones may be bygones, & faire play in time to come: For as yow are pleased to tell me that in your former tre yow designed noe other then respect for me, soe, I doe assure yo^r Gr: it shall be my study to deserve yo^r freindship by all the good offices that shall be in the power of

CXLVIII.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 183.]

feb. the 2.

This day in counsell uie cald for thos Lords uho ar nemd by his Majestie on the comission for the jeusties court, and red ther comisioun to them, and tuck ther othes to be feathfull in that trust, and as I tould you in my Last thay ar to begin on Munday nixt; uie had no other busines of public conserne. I jeudg it my deutie to give you an account of uhat I aprehand to be the condision of the wast cuntrie, and of that partie that uie may be upon our gard, and positiffe resolutions may be teackin hou to punishe persons uho dus-not regard acks of parleament and counsell, for I du aprehand if the uather ons grou a Litell uarmir and the days Longer, thay uill fall a cipieng of conventackiells agane, for it wold apir thay propos that as the esiest uay for them to get ther outied minesters Lisensid, and to uirie out thos minesters uho hes entried Legalie, the leat ackts of parleament ar alls sever aganst conventekleing of all degries as is posibell, bot our slonis in exequeting thos Laus is our erour in my opinioun, I min by formir ackts of that natur, for uie have not had occasioun sins our cuming hom to jeoudg uhat tempir uie uill be of as to the punicshieng of that caynd of ofendirs, uhat shall ocur of that natur or anie thing els that is considerabell, you

shall have it uith all the fridom imaginabell, so adeou, my dear Lord,

i am verie gled anie mistakecks that hes bin betuix
deuck hamilton and you ar I houp abshulatlie
teackin auay, and I faynd him verie ueall plect
uith it.

CXLIX.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23134, f. 187.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO^p,

Edinburgh, feb^r 2, 1671.

Having by the late pacquet received the honour of your Lo^{ps} of Ja^r 26, with the inclosit presentation, I am oblidged to return my humble and hearty acknowledgement of the great and seasonable favour expressed thereby ; your Lo^p: having been at the paine of reading some passages in that mischeivous book,^a does give a just character of it, which hath castin a greater reproach upon our religion and nation then any in print have yet offered to doe ; the most probable conjecture heer sayes that the author of it is the same with that of Napthali, Mas John Brownn, a banished minister in Holland, who has published another book in Latin at Amsterdam against the libertins and Erastians, in which he does most abusively traduce the proceedings of king and state; however the author of this jus populi has done ws that right as more undenyably then hath been by any who have wreatting against our order to make the cause of Episcopacy to be the same with the cause of the king and state, and y^t they must have the same freinds and adversaries. I was loath to say any thing of the late way takin with the indulged ministers and others in the Vest, knowing y^t your Lo^p: had an account of the effects of it from others ; now if I may be bold to say, y^t though I can not goe along with the Bishop of Dunblain's

^a Jus populi vindicatum.

concessions,^a judging them to leave nothing to the authority of a bishop but the insignificant title, and to render it useles to the King and Church; yet they having operated so litle to the gaining or breaking of that party, it is apparent y^t it is no less difficult to oblidg then to convince them, who are and will be unsatysfyable till they get the mastry over the interest they think malignant. I do not doubt of your Lo^{ps} noble firm resolution to maintain the government of this Church as by Law established, nor shall I despond having those franck assurances of your patrociny and favour, in the sense wherof, no person doeth with more sincerity desire and pray y^t yow may be attendit with all honour and prosperity then,

My Lord,
Your most humble and most obedient servant,
S^r ANDREWS.

CL.—THE EARL OF KINCARDINE TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 71.]

Eden^b: 22^d July, '71.

* * * * *

B. Dunblain is like to be more tractable then he hath been; I am hopefull that he may yet be persuaded to accept of the farmalities of Glasgow w^h wold do excellently well. Pray write to him frankly & heartily as soon as you can. S^t Andrews brags mightily of your letters, and even grows insolent. Yow need not be directed how to use him; yow know cajoling looseth him, & that he is never right but when he is kept under; he brags that no B^p shallbe named but by him, that he hath it under the King's hand, nay even the A B^prik of Glasgow it self. I have not tyme to say more, but that I am intirly yours. A Dieu.

^a See these in Burnet and Wodrow.

CLI.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 103.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO^{PS}:Edinburgh, Nov^r 23, 1671.

When I received the honour of your Lo^{PS} of Octob^r 24, I thought of coming straight to this town, but through some indisposition and bad weather was hindered till now, and therby, also, from paying my humble acknowledg^{mt}, y^t by your Lo^{PS} special care, his Ma^{ty} has been graciously pleasit to conferr the sole priviledg of nomination of the Co^missars of Edinburgh upon the see of S^t Andrew, and there beeng no places vacant or lyke to vake for a long tyme, my cheef concern and value of it is, y^t therby a real demonstration is addit of your Lo^{PS} favour to me, which is my great support, under these many discouragements which at this tyme attend my office, seeing I had not the happines of an opportunity of waiting upon your Lo^P: to speak of Church affairs, upon my Lord your brother's desire I putt some thoughts subitanely into a paper, with an humble submission of all in it to your Lo^{PS} pleasure, and knew weal y^t very litle can be done to purpose till it please God yow come to Scotland ; and it appears y^t the growing disorders and unsettlement of this Church are above the care of any hand but of your own, and doe call for your Graces presence at the tymely season yow mention.* I humbly acquiesce in his Ma^{tyes} resolution about the disposall of the Archbprick of Glasgow, and shall obey the co^mand for translation, though I differ from the new ArchB^P: as to his proposalls for accomodation, not having the habitude of parting by my own consent with the rights of the Episcopal order, which have been ever acknowledged by the Christian Church. I did not offer any opinion about the vacant Bpricks until I had your express order, and now y^t the King has sent directions for

* William Lockhart, writing on Sept. 5, says, "Your Lop^s presence heare next spring will be indispensably necessary."

advice for the filling of them, I pay all becoming deference to your judgment, and take it as an act of your L^{ops} tendernes of me, who have burden enough, besyds what that might hav exposed me to, hoping y^t my Lords nominated in that coffission will serve the end proposed, the good of this Church, by reco^mending fitt persons, which is all I desire or design. I have heard some discourses, both befor M^r Gilb: Burnet his going to London and since, of his meddling with Church affairs,* but I doe not give any credit to them, yow having been pleased to tell me he did not, and if he attempted any thing to my preejudice, who have done him some good offices, but never any ill, I forgive him, beeng assured of your Lo^{ps} justice, to reserve an eare for me, and of that kyndnes I have ever found, which I trust shall never be forfaulted by any undutifulness known to,

My Lord,

Your Lo^{ps} most humble and
most obedient servant,
S^r ANDREWS.

CLII.—THE EARL OF ROTHES TO CHARLES II.

[23135, f. 111.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MA^{ties},

I doe by this freely and heartily resign, upgive, and overgive, unto your Ma^{ties} handes, the office and place of your Majesties president of your Secrete Counsell, in your Kingdoome of Scotland, granted to me, be your Letters patent, under the great seale of this Kingdome, to be disposed upon, at your Majesties pleasure, in all tyme comeinge. In witnes wheroff, thes presents are subscribed

* See Burnet's proposals at this time. History, i. 299.

with my hand, Att your pallace of Haliroodhous this off Novem-
ber, 1671, By

May it please your Majestie,
Your Ma^{ties} most ffathfull, most humble, and
Most obedient Servant,
ROTHES.

[*N.B.*—Only signed.]

CLIII.—ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON TO THE EARL OF LAUDER-
DALE.

[23135, f. 112.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^R GRACE, Edinbr. Dec^r 1 [1671].

* * * * *

There is one thing in my present charge I am much concern'd in & solicitous about, 'tis ye supplying of ye vacant kirks in ye western part especially, for ye truth is wee have not men for them, & ye people in most of ye parishes would not receive angels, if they co^mitt ye horrid crime of going to presbyteries & synods. That I have to intreat at present is y^t I bee not left to struggle alone with so hard a task, but may have ye assistance both of ye direction & authority of ye Lords of Councill or their Co^mittee, or these same that are named in ye late order, that I may make my address to them in this particular & what other difficulties occur in ye affairs of y^t diocese, & if yo^r Grace would be pleas'd to write a line to my L. Chancellor for y^t effect w^{ch} will add to ye many and great obligations of

My Lord,
Yo^r Grace's most humble servant,
R. LEIGHTON.

CLIV.—THE EARL OF KINCARDIN TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[13135, f. 114.]

Edinh. 7 Decr, '71.

Last post I told you that the meeting upon the king's letter was delayed till this day, but I was mistaken, for wee did meet last night. There were present L^d Chancelour, the two ArchB^{ps}, L^d Privie Seale, E. Argyll, E. Tweeddale, & myself. Wee hade at first great silence, scarc a word to be draune out of any body. And after some fencceing wee fell upon a debate concerning the methode of our proceeding, & it was begunne by St. Andrews that Est might be first spoke of. On the other hande it was proposed that first foure men should be spoke of as fit to be Bishopes, & then it wold bee fit to speake to the way of disposing of them. St. Andrews alledged that no presbiter could be named to Est being so considerable a BPrike, alledging the practic of the Church in all tymes, & a great many things for it. He was ansuered that this proposal of naming 4 for the 4 vacancies did not limite us afterwards from nameing a B^p to be transported to Est, w^h was very consistent with the practice of the Church, especialy in the most primitive tymes, when it was ordinary for presbiters to be promoted to be metropolitans & ArchB^{ps}, and many pritty instances made, yow may easily guesse by whom, And it was added that for the see in question it was the last erected of the whole number; that the first B^p of it was a presbiter, Doctor Forbes, though then the rest of the sees were full to have furnished a transportation, and the last was a presbiter, though it is true the necessitye of the tymes required it, and non of us remembered whither there hade been ever any more B^{ps} in it. After some arguings too & fro, it was resolved by the whole number, except St. Andrew's single vote, that wee should first thinke of the 4 presbiters; and after some further fencing it was resolved to delay the whole affaire till fryday in the evning, that the two ArchB^{ps} might speake together, and all of us might be the riper to speake as to particular persons.

This morning L^d St. Andrews was with me, and after a preface of our long friendships never interrupted but once upon a mistake,* and great professions of friendship & I know not what, w^h surprised me very much, he fell upon the point now in hand. The particulars wold be too tedious but they were pleasant. He asked who were designed to be B^{re}. I told him I should rather aske him; that I knew of no designes fixt for any body, but I should tell him frankely all that I hade heard named for that imployment, the Deane of E^{dr}, Mr. Paterson, the Deane of Glasgow, the Arch-Deacon of St. Andrews, Mr. Nairne, Mr. Charters, Mr. Rait of Dundee, and Mr. Burnet. And I told him that I supposed these were the cheif were to be choosed upon of presbiters, that for Ed^r I hade heard Galoway & Aberdeen spoke of. As I dropt out the presbiters he gave his little short characters to some of them of approbation; to the ArchDeacon of St. Andrews, & Mr. Nairne and some, he disapproved; those of Ed^r he thought better where they are then in meane BPrikes, & of some he said nothing. It is impossible to tell all, but I am hopefull to get him go a great length in those who are like to carrie by plurality, for I wold faine have things as smooth as is possible.

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CLV.—THE EARL OF KINCARDIN TO THE EARL OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 118.]

Edenb: 14 Dec^r, '71.

The patent of your being president of the councell^b was reade to day in councell, & your uncle L^d privie seale receaved it upon his knee. I know not how wee should direct letters to yow upon

* In 1665; see vol. i. p. 228.

^b The chief offices of State were now absolutely in Lauderdale's hands.

this new place. I know yow will not be called L^d Commissioner by your friends, & your being it makes me forbear calling yow any thing els but E. Lauderdale. Wee had nothing of publique concernement further at councell but a new complaint against Clan Cameron of a new murther & depredation committed upon the McDonalds. For w^h Lockyell was called summarily before the councell & required to find surty not to go off toune tili he give satisfaction for this injury, and to morow morning given him upon his parole till then. And if he do not then find sufficient surety he is to be made prisoner. Wee are affrayed of the peace of the Highlands by these two unhappy Clans of Cameron & McDonald, And though the Committie hath met diverse tymes upon that affaire they cannot come to any point in it.

In my last I gave yow an accompt of the nomination of Bps. L^d Glasgow hath been with me since, and sayes that now it is like some deanries will be vacant & at the King's gift, and he wisheth they may be well filled, especialy that of E^d. The natural way will be, to do it by the advice of the B^p, to whom he is to be deane, & that ought to give offence to no man. Mr. Paterson is talkt of, but it is not thought he will sort well with the person proposed to bee B^p. The Arch deaconry of St. Andrews is a better living & the Arch B^p of that place & hee are very good friends, so I thinke they wold do well together. L^d St. Andrews said that Mr. Lourie Deane of E^d wold not accept of the B^prike of Brichen, but I am told since of a very good hand that he will accept very cheerfully.

ADieu.

After I hade written this I found the sheet written on the other side & so I cut it rather then write it over againe. This day my Lord Pitrichie tooke his place in the session.

CLVI.—EARL OF KINCARDIN TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 141.]

Edenb. 21 Decr, '71.

Your letter of the 16th from Ham I receaved this afternoon, I am sorry to know by it that yow need physicke; but I am very well pleased to find yow have that due caire of your health as to shift your self of the croud of busines that you may take physicke when it is necessary. Im sure it is no flattery in me to tell yow that your health is not only necessary to your self, but to your contrie, not to speake of your friends. I shall tell my Lord Glasgow what yow bid me tell him & I have already told L^d Privie Seale what yow say of the remission. Wee hade nothing of publike concernement to day at Councell. Highland processes betwix the M^cDonalds & Clan Cameron tooke up much of our tyme; a pritty passage fell out, two witnesses led by Lochyell were accepted against by L^d M^cDonald as theeves, & the particular thifts conde-shended upon, w^h though it could not cast the witneses (not being instantly proven). Yet upon L^d M^cDonalds inacting himself to insist, Lochyell was oblided to inact himself to produce them to ansuer.

* * * *

L^d S^t Andrews is gone out of toune last night; he was gone before I knew of it, otherwise I have waited upon him, to have him appoynt a tyme for the Investiture of the Arch B^p of Glasgow. I spake of it to him once or twice, & he thought S^t Andrews the fittest place, & so does L^d Glasgow too, because it is more quiet then this place. But L^d St. Andrews is cold in it, as I thinke yow may guesse, & L^d Glasgow I beleve wold be glade to shunne it for ever. But since it is fit the thing be done, it will be necessary that yow write to L^d St. Andrews to presse him to hasten it, for I ought not to take more upon me then to represent it, w^h I have done already.

The councell is adjurned till this day fortnight because of the

Christmas Vacation. L^d Chancellor & divers others go out of toune upon Saturday, but I am resolved to stay till L^d Haltoun come. ADieu.

I suppose yow may have heard that the Dutchesse of Hamilton was brought to bed of a boy upon Sunday last; he is to be called Basil after her uncle E. Denbigh. I find it is taken ill that yow have neither ansuered her nor the Dukes letters. pray intertaine their civilities, but I beseech yow take no notice that yow know of their taking ill your long silence, for otherwise you ruine for ever my intelligence of the inclinations of that family.

CLVII.—MEMORANDUM OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
TREASURY TO LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 132.]

RIGHT HONOR^{BLE},

Edenb: 18 Jan^r, 1672.

Wee have hade under our serious consideration His Majesties proposall, for haveing a regiment of a thousand foot, leavied in this kingdome, & payed by it, to serve him in England, either at sea or land. But wee find it impossible that his Ma^{ties} revenue in this kingdome can have that charge over & above what is already upon it. Nay in the case of warre there will be an absolut necessity of retrenching considerably the present charge, For then it may be rationally supposed that the revenue will be diminished at least a third part, since it was soe in the last warre with Holland, & the charge for security of the kingdome very much increased. And besids this wee thinke it our duety humbly to represent to his Ma^{tie} that there is a troublesome partie in this kingdome, ill affected to the established governement of the Church, over whom, even in peaceable tymes, there is a necessity of a watchfull eye, and who without doubt in tyme of warre will be fomented, & upon occasion assisted by what ever forraigne prince or state his Ma^{tie} shall be

ingadged against in warre, so that any extraordinary supplies which this kingdome will be able to afford will hardly secure his Ma^{ties} governement from the dangers w^h are to be feared from that hand, Besids the defence of our large coasts from the attempts of forraigne ennimies. And there is at present so great a scarcity of money in this kingdome, that even the smale supplye granted his Ma^{tie} by the last session of his parliament can hardly be got leavied. So that, though the tyme of the last payment be already long elapsed, and very great diligence used for the levieing of it, yet there is near a half of it still resting. For the ten thousand libb ster: which his Ma^{tie} hath in his castle of Edenbrugh, it wold prove so inconsiderable if it should now be made use of, and is so considerable whilst it lyeth there, that it is our most humble & serious opinion that his Ma^{tie} should not touch it, but let it lye till som extraordinary & unexpected occasion force the use of it, in which case it will be more usefull then many tymes more, which wold then be to be leavied. We are,

Right hono^{ble},

Your Lo^{ps} most humble servants,

ROTHES,

TWEEDDALE,

KINCARDIN,

CH. MAITLAND.

[N.B.—In the hand of Kincardin.]

CLVIII.—PRIVATE INSTRUCTIONS FROM CHARLES II. TO
THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 170].

[Private Instructions to John Duke of Lauderdale our Commissioner.*]

CHARLES R.

So soon as you are in Scotland you are to call together some eminent persones, who are affectionat to our service, & understand

* There are no letters from Lauderdale during this Session. He was on his return to England on Oct. 22.

the condition of the kingdome; and advise with them what is fit to be done for prosecuting the fifth article of your instructions concerning the peace and security of the kingdome; And what is necessary to put the militia in a condition to be ready upon all occasions of our service to go well appoynted into the fields, & to march where ever wee shall command. And you are hereby allowed to give full assurance that whatever impositions shall be thought necessary for this end shall be employed no other way.

You shall also consider with them whither it be necessary that any new forces shall be raised during the warre, & how they shall be maintained, seeing it is impossible for us to do any of these out of our revenue.

You shall, by advice of such as shall thinke fit, consider upon the place what is necessarie or fit to be done for preserving & maintaining the government by Archbishops & Bishops, and for preserving the quiet & peace of the kingdome, either by enlarging the indulgence where yow shall find it necessary, or by removing such unconforme ministers as have been indulged by the Councell, or have not yet been questioned by the Bishops, from places which will continue orderly without them, to places where they will be more necessary. Or yow shall prosecute such an accommodation as was before indeavoured, so as it may consist with the government by Arch B^{ps} & B^{ps}. And for these purposes you are hereby empowered to prosecute such instructions as you hade formerly or such of them as yow shall thinke fit. Given at our Court at Whitehall the three & twentieth day of May 1672 And of our Reigne the twentie-fourth yeare. C. R.

[*N.B.*—In the *handwriting* of Kincardin and *signed* by the King.]

CLIX.—ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 189.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,

Though I confesse I am as lazy as any other to y^e businesse of writing, yet I would not have bin wanting to my duety of acquainting yo^r grace if any thing had occur'd since my last worthy of yo^r notice within my present circle (for with things without it I medle not) nor have I much now to say, but that (thanks bee to God) ye west sea is at present pretty calm, & wee are in a tolerable degree of quiet, & y^e late treating & conferences with o^r dissenting brethren seems to have contributed something towards it, so y^t y^e time & pains bestow'd that way seem not to bee wholly lost, and though they cannot bee charm'd into Union, yet they doe not sting so fiercely as they did, nor does the difference appear so horridly vast & ye gulf between us so great but that there may bee some transition, and diverse of them are speaking of coming to presbyteries, if they may bee excus'd from synods,^a but 'tis most amongst them y^t are still out, as indeed most concern'd, & possibly had the rest bin treated with in ye same posture they would have bin more tractable, but wee must doe as well as wee can with things as they are, *de ce qui est fait, le conseil en est pris*. The main difficulty at present is the filling of the vaccancies, w^{ch} are not a few, and diverse of y^e people very humorous & hard to please, & the too great disregard of that, & y^e negligent indifferent throwing in upon them any that came to hand was y^e great cause of all y^e disquiet that hath arisen in these parts, filling all places with almost as much precipitancy as was usd in making them empty. And in this affair I am now craving y^e advice and assistance of y^e Lords of Councill and particularly of those on whom I know yo^r Grace reposes most

^a In the previous December Leighton says they will come neither to Presbyteries nor Synods.

for this & other matters of publick concernment, being resolv'd to doe nothing of importance while I continue in this station, without their good liking & concurrence.

* * * * *

R. LEIGHTON.

Undated, but apparently before Lauderdale's arrival in Scotland in the end of May.

CLX.—LORD CLIFFORD TO THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 182.]

MY LORD,

Your Grace will finde by the enclosed Petition a complaint against Five Scotch Preachers, who are said to have assisted at a dangerous assembly in Flowden Field. His Maj^{ty} hath ordered the Governor of Berwick to enquire into the Business and returne an accompt thereof, but supposing those five Preachers may soone withdraw themselves into Scotland, His Maj^{ty} is likewise pleased to recomend to yo^r Graces care that some notice be taken of their behaviour, and that they be proceeded withall as they shalbe found to deserve, w^{ch} is all that is fit to be said in this matter, but to ad the respects wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Y^r Grace's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

CLIFFORD.

White Hall, July the 5th, 1672.

CLXI.—THE EARL OF KINCARDIN TO THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 185.]

Whitehall, 18 July, '72.

I am sorry to learne by Mr. Forresters letter of the 11th w^h I got yesterday that yow hade been troubled that day with a fit of the

stone, for seldome does that disease leave any body that is once troubled with it: In the publique letter I doe not take notice of your motion to have been the reason of S^r W^m Lockart's getting the regiment, least it may anger some who possibly might either envye it or may have pretended to it, & if yow thinke fit to oune it yow may easily do it.

E. Shaftesbury tells me that though the King's demands be what I have told in the other letter, yet he thinks the King will be satisfied to take 3 or 400 thowsand lib for the expence of the warre, & 50000 lib per annum for the fishing & the Brill & Fluseng as cautionary tounes, for their performance & good behaviour. The K. of France hath sent to Monterey to remove his forces out of the states tounes, especialy Bolduc,^a Breda, & Bergen op Zome, and that he give an answer sur le champ or he will attaque Flanders. The Count de Monterey tells he cannot do it without a warrand from the Queen Regent. This allarums us, since it is probable the French will attaque Flanders.

Mr. Armor told Mr. Ker that Mr. Kirk is not well pleased with Mr. Allen nor Mr. Bell for asking from Mr. Hart^b things which he could not graunt; Armor said plainly he suspected them to be too much friend to Mr. Fell. Mr. Kirby hath a ticklish game to play. And Mr. Long^c is much wished to be here by very many.

Adiew.

For your self alone.

^a Bois-le-duc.

^b The King: this pseudonym occurs in the letters at the time of the Billeting plot.

^c Lauderdale. The use of cypher is significant of the relations of distrust and suspicion which now existed between Lauderdale, Tweeddale, Argyle, Hamilton, and Athol. *Burnet*, i. 547.

CLXII.—CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 198.]

Whithall, Aug. [1672.]

I am ashamed to have been so long without writing to you; I assure you it has not been for want of kindnesse, but you may easily beleieve I have had much businesse, and I confesse I am a little slow in expressing my kindnesse this way. We are makeing all thinges ready heere in order to a discent in holland, if it be feasable after the enimies fleete be either beaten or droven into there harbors; the greatest want I foresee will be a suply of men in case our first attempt succede, therefore if it were possible to have two thousand men ready in Scotland upon such an occasion, it might be of the last importance : iust as I had writt this farr, newes is come out of holland that de Witt and his brother are torne in peeces by the people, the particulars of w^{ch} you will receave by my L^d Kincarne. I expect my brother with the fleete to come to the buoy of the nore in a day or two, there to mend those smale damages he has receaved by the foule wether at sea, and likewise to adiust our designe for the rest of this summer, w^{ch} I hope will not be the lesse prosperous for what has befallen de Witt; this accident causeing great tumults there which undoutedly will not rest with this disorder only. I have no more to say at present but to thanke you for the good service you do me in your station, and to assure you I am and ever will be your true frinde.

C. R.

Pray remember me very kindly to my Lady Duchesse.*

CLXIII.—LORD CLIFFORD TO THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 203.]

MY LORD,

Whitehall, Sept. 7, '72.

I have the honor of y^r Grace's obliging letter; the Caball are all

* Lauderdale's second wife.

impatient for y^r returne to us, but I am sure noe one of them more then my selfe. The King and us all goe downe to the fleet upon munday next, and the shortest time we shall stay will be three or fower dayes; when we come back I will tell y^r Grace what is resolv'd upon, for most of us goe with opinion that it is not yet too late in the year for our whole fleet to goe out to sea againe; but we heare most of the seacoñanders are of an other opinion. I beg of y^r Grace you will not stay a day longer than needs you must fro us.

I am, my Lord,

Y^r Grace's

Most humble and most obedient servant,

CLIFFORD.

CLXIV.—R. HAMILTON^a TO THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 213.]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r GRACE,

Dublin, 9^{ber} y^e 5th.

I have not presumed to give y^r Grace this trouble but that some presbyterian ministers in this cowntry, making theire humble ad-dresse to y^r Grace this night, desired me likewise to signifie to y^r Grace theire sense of y^r Grace kindnesse to them, & His Ma^{ties} care of them in bestowing on them from His own mere motion, a considerable sume of y^e Establishment of this kingdome. I must declare, I finde them really verie sensible of theire obligationes to y^r Grace, and verie readie to expresse theire dutie & allegiance to His Ma^{tie} on all ocasioness; I shall add noe more, knowing how fully S^r Ar. ffor: & themselves has writt to y^r Grace, only (on my word) they are a considerable number in this kingdome, & able to do his Ma^{tie} good service when call'd to it, if they be prudently managed; And I believe S^r Arth: has as great influence on them, and studies as much to ingadge them to His Ma^{ties} service as any man cann:

^a I cannot identify the writer.

^b See Reid, *History of Presbyterianism in Ireland*.

May it please y^r Grace, this is a most factious place, And I finde great difficulty to satisfie all interests even in my mean employment as A Cowncill, that I ame afraide some may misrepresent me to y^r Grace, knowing that nothing in y^e world will creat that anxietie to me as y^e least Apprehension of y^r grace beeng offended with me; therfor My Humble petition to y^r grace is, that if any shall be so maliciows as to doe me any such ill office, that y^r grace will suspend y^r displeasure with me till Yowr Grace be pleased to cawse Y^r servant challenge me of it; so Humbly begging y^r grace pardon I presume to signe myself with all submission,

May it please Y^r Grace,

Y^r most obedient, most humble serv^t,

R. HAMILTON.

Coll^l Talbott commands me to present his most humble service to y^r Grace.

CLXV.—THE EARL OF MIDDLETON TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 261.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Tangier, March 27^d, 1673.

I have written to you severall times since my commjng to this place but have head noe returne. j know the great jmployments your g: heas been trusted with by his Majestie jn all which you have done things above expectatjone, heas tacken up your thoghts, notwithstanding j jmpute the misfortune j have jn not hearjng from yow to the carelesnes of those j jntrosted to solicit your answer. My Lord, j congratulate with all my heart the deserved honors his Majestie heas conferred upon yow, by which he not onlye expreseth a princleie gratitude to your :g: but leckways a great encouragment to persons iminentlie jmployed to serve him with that noble zeale your :g: heas done.

* See Carte's *Ormond* (Clarendon Press), vol. iv. p. 452.

Nowe, my Lord, pardon me to give yow a little truble. By his Majesties gracious favor j have a thousand pound pensione jn Scotland, my estate js so jnconsiderable that js not worth the nameing; j have a son* that j have bred to mack his owne fortune, yet yoong men without monye, let ther merits be never so great, will rise but sloulie. j have no way to helpe him but by devidjng my pensione with him, that he may have the one halfe jn his owne name, and the other left to me; this cannot be done but by your /gs/ extraordinary favor, which shall be resented by me as it ought to be during my life, and j am most hopefull that the young man will not prove jngrate but owne your :g: as the macker of his fortune. My Lord, our conditjone in this place js such that may mack the greatest of our ennemyes to pitie ws; wee are twentie aught months jn arrear besyds the wants of provisione. Our peace with gayland heas preserved the place, but all this j leave to Captaine Leslye, who will give a particular accompt to your :g: so that j shall say noe more but that j am with all sinceretie,

May jt please y^r :g:

Your :Gs: most humble and
most obedient servant,

MIDDLETON.

CLXVI.—BISHOP RAMSEY^b TO THE DUCHESS^c OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 572.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,

Hamiltone, May 21, 1673.

Although I am assured that my letters ar bot a trouble, yet I have foresumed this third time to give y^r Gr/ the trouble of reading

* Afterwards Secretary of State under James II.; was with him at Saint Germain; and was created Earl of Monmouth by the old Pretender on James II.'s death.

^b Elect of Dumblane.

^c The second Duchess, Elizabeth Tallmarsh, Countess of Dysart in her own right.

a few Lynes. Our Archbishop is gone from us to Court w^t a designe (as is thought) to lay doune this charge, and I doubt not but yo^r Gr/ is sensible how unfitt a time this is for such a persone to relinquish such a statione, ffor preventing q^rof, as I doe not questione bot y^r Gr/ will jnterpose yo^r own desires, So (if ther be need) I doe as litl doubt but yow will jndeavour that his Ma^{tie} may lay his commands upon him to continue in this sea, at least for some time, and I am perswaded he hes a principle of obedience that will prevaile w^t him to crosse his oune jnclina^ones But if he shall prove resolute in his Dimissione and retirement, I hope the love that yo^r Gr/ beares to this poor church will move you to sollicite my Lord commissioner his Gr/ that by his jnterest w^t his Royal Ma^{tie} This sea may be supplied both speedilie, and w^t a persone who will follow those methods q^h the Commissioner his gr/ and the archBishop have sett on foot and approve of, Our case no more admitting change of methods then a sore eye does change of a good salve. Iff in this or any other thing yo^r gr/ offend at my presumptione, I doe in all humilitie crave pardon, Desyring nothing more then that I may stand right in yo^r gr/ favor As one who values himself upon nothing so much as to be esteemed and realie to acquitt himself in evrie capacitie he can be in as,

May it please yo^r Gr/

Yo^r Graces most ffaithfull

and obedient servant,

J. RAMSAY.

To the Duchess of Lauderdale.

CLXVII.—THE EARL OF KINCARDIN TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23135, f. 284.]

Queensferrie, 20th Sept^r, '73.

I am here upon an appoyntment to meet with L. H. concerning what you did write to him to communicat to me, and, haveing no hint of it before I came hither, I am the more to seeke. Yet the thoughts of the thing it self have sometymes occurred to me. I

remember I told yow, before I left yow, that whatever worke there was necessary for a parliament to do, I was of opinion there was a necessity of your presence as commissioner to set councill busines in a better condition then they have been of late. And since I came hither I am very much confirmed in that opinion, And besides I thinke our disorders now come to that height that it will be very hard (at best) to curb them without something be further done by the parliament then they have yet done. My reason is that not only in all parts of the contrie privat conventicles abound, where very disaffected persons preach dangerous doctrins, but in many parts very numerous field conventicles are kept, at which as I thinke I told you before guards are kept by armed men. so that I find discreet men apprehensive it may turne to much mischief if it be not prevented. I am suspitious that when you are here, & that you have considered it, you may thinke it will be necessary wee have some greater force to secure our peace then what wee have already, And it is not just that loyale honest men should beare the burden of disloyale men's faults; so long as those that are the occasion of our trouble are able to defray the expence they occasion they ought to beare it. but in what manner this is to be done, is fit to advise when yow are here, with the Lords of the articles, or such as you shall thinke fit, but in my opinion some generall instruction relating to this will be very necessary. I suppose L. H. will write to yow to this purpose & more fully of all we talkt, but this hint I thought necessary to give yow.

Your letter of the 9th I receaved upon twesday, & am very glade to know of your resolutione to be here so soone. I have not tyme now to say more, nor to write to My Lady Duchesse but shall by the nixt. And so ADieu.

CLXVIII.—INSTRUCTIONS FROM CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23136, f. 3.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO JOHN DUKE OF LAUDERDALE OUR
COMMISSIONER.

CHARLES R.

1. Yow shall goe to Scotland, and as soone as yow are within that our kingdome yow shall act in every thing as our Comissioner by vertue of your Commission under our great seale.

2. Yow shall begin this ensueing Session of Parliament on the day to which wee did by our letter in May last adjourne it.

3. At the first meeting of our Parliament, after intimation of our comission to yow w^{ch} is still in force, and after reading of our letter to our Parliament, yow shall acquaint them how wee have by our Ambassado^{rs} at Cologne used all possible indeavo^{rs} for attaineing a just & honorable peace, and what hath been the insolency & stubbornesse of our enemies the States Gen^l of the United Provinces who have never made any proposall towards a peace, nor answered any proposalls made by the mediato^{rs} for us & our allyes; so wee are necessitate to continue the warre, for our own honor, the maintenance of our just rights, and the protection of all our subjects, wherein wee nothing doubt of the hearty concurrence of all our kingdomes.

4. And whereas the preservation of peace & order within that our ancient kingdome is the most probable mean by the blessing of God to preserv it from forreigne invasion, Yow shall acquaint our Parliament, that one of the cheef reasons of keeping this Session of Parliam^t is, to the end effectuall courses may be layd down for curbing & punishing the insolent conventicles & other seditious practises w^{ch} have since the last Session too much abounded, and for procureing due obedience to our laws. Yow shall therfore most seriously recommend it to the Parliament, that they may find out the most effectuall remedies for preventing of those disorders, particularly by obleidgeing the shireffs & all other magistrates both in

burgh & land, more effectually to goe about their duty, and that with such certifications as our Parliament shall think fit.

5. And becaus this alone will not probably secure the peace, yow shall propose to our Parliam^t whether it be not fit that herito^{rs} may be obleidged for their men tenants & servants^a in such a maner as the cheefs of clans are for the peace of the highlands, and that especially against seditious conventicles & scandalous withdrawing from the churches, under such certifications as the Parliam^t shall think fit, and the like to be for magistrats of Royall Burghs for all such that live within their jurisdictions. And yow shall give our Royal assent to such laws as the Parliam^t shall think necessary, either by this or any other effectuell way.

6. Whereas wee find that our clemencie in the Indulgences formerly given by us for satisfying the dissenting party hath been much abused, and expectations raised of furdur, Yow shall, as yow shall see cause, in our name declare, that the people must not expect furdur Indulgences, and wee doe authorise yow to restrict & retrench the Indulgences already given, as yow shall think fit for our service.

7. Yow shall advise, whether for the peace of that kingdome it be necessary to strenthen our foot-companyes of guards & our garrisons, and to raise a troope of horse, and how they shallbe mantained, and upon advertisement from yow yow shall receiv our orders concerneing the same.

8. Yow shall indeavor by all meanes that the Parliament give their authority unto the Privy Councell to put garrisons into houses where the people are disaffected or the heritors unwilling to give security as is above expressed, and that sufficient provision be made for their maintenance.

9. And whereas wee are still ingadged in a warre, yow shall take speciall care of the militia of that our kingdome, that in every thing it may be kept in order and provided for according to the Acts of Parliament. To the end it may be ready upon all occasions

^a See the letter from the Privy Council concerning this in Appendix B, p. lxxiv.

for our service & the defence of the kingdome, and if anything be yet deficient therein, that yow indeavor to supply it, as our Parliament shall think fit.

10. Yow shall still assure our Parliament, that wee are firme & constant & in our resolution to mantaine the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and the governement of the Church by Arch-Bishops & Bishops, whatever seditious persons disaffected to our governement may suggest to the contrary; and yow shall take such wayes as yow shall upon the place judge most conduceable for quieting the minds of peaceable people, and curbing the seditious & disaffected of all sorts.

* * * * *

Given at our Court at Whitehall the . . day of October,
1673, and of our Reigne the 25th year./

C. R.

CLXIX.—THE HON. CHARLES MAITLAND* TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23136, f. 5.]

MAY IT PLEASE Y^r GRACE,

Whithall, 4 No^r, 1673.

This foornone aft. the King's retorne from the proroging the parl., being in the drawing roume, he cald me to the window, & asked me when the post went for Scotland; I answered this night. Then says he, wreit to y^r Brother from me That By no mens Ther be anything done as To A litorgie^b in Scotland att this tyme, & sayes he let not a word be motioned off it, Concluding with thes words / we most tak Cair to keep all things reight, so mutch the rather now when a gret many indeavour to put them wrong / This was all, & I told his Ma^{tie} I should fathfully obay.

* Charles Maitland of Haltoun, brother to Lauderdale.

^b There is no mention of this in Burnet.

CLXX.—THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE TO CHARLES II.^a

[23136, f. 7.]

Lethington, 4 9^{ber}, '73.

I wold not presume to trouble yow whilest I was in my tedious winter journey, yet being now comd to ane end of it I take the boldnes to let yow know that on thursday last I came through yo^r toune of Berwick & lodged in this yo^r kingdome, On fryday I came hither (w^{ch} was that day fortnight after I kist yo^r hands at Whitehall): yo^r parl^t begins to morrow sennet & I shalbe at Ed^r Godwilling on Monday nixt, w^{ch} is assoone as is necessarie, seing I have been met already by most of the considerablest of this kingdome, & have spoke with many of them. Yo^r co^mands are onely to quiet the mindes & secure the peace of this y^r kingdome, And I finde already there was great need of sending some body hither to that purpose, for tamperings of severall handes have been from that place^b with divers heir, & the disaffected heir have divers sorts of correspondents at London, w^{ch} much hardens them & they industriously spread such news as yo^r small freinds at London wold have them. Yet I trust in God I shall disappoint them & give yow a good account of yo^r co^mands by letting the world see that this kingdome is quiet, & both the parl^t & kingdome ready to serv yow against yo^r enemies. Be pleased to consider if yow will lay any other co^mands on me, & I shall be most ready to obey what yow shall thinke fitt to command; for yow know I am most entirely

Yo^{rs}.

Give my brother leave to offer to yow the supplying 3 vacancies in yo^r regiment heir & to know yo^r pleasure if yow will continue the stop of coales.

^a He writes on the same day in almost identical words to James.

^b He appears to mean Holland.

CLXXI.—THE ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23136, f. 10.]

MAY IT PLEASE YO^r GRACE,Edg^r, Nov^r 9 [1673].

It were (I know) an unpleasant thing & now scarce pertinent for mee to say any more of y^e struggles & tossings of my thoughts concerning my engaging in this station, both before my submitting to't & even since, onely what I sayd once & again to bespeak y^e liberty & right construction of my retiring in case of necessity, though yo^r grace thought it not fitt to take any notice of it at present, yet I must humbly begg it may not bee wholly forgott, & I will mention it no more, till I find my self forct to make reall use of it. for them y^t are in eminent civill employments & are no lesse eminently qualifi'd for them, God forbid they should think of withdrawing, but for us of this order in this kingdom, I beleev 'twere litle damage either to church or state, possibly some advantage to both, if wee should all retire ; but that, what soever y^e event of it might prov, is a thing neither to be feared nor hoped. for my self how great soever bee my longings after retreat yet ought they not to hinder my most humble acknowledgment of his Ma^{ties} undeserved favour (though it still detains mee from that w^{ch} of all things in this world I doe most passionately desire), & next to his Ma^{ties} favour I cannot but bee sensible of my singular obligement to yo^r grace, for so much unwearied kindnes & patience in this affair. for how much reason so ever I may seem to my self to have for my reluctancy, yet I think yo^r grace had more reason long ere this to have despised & neglected it, as ye peevish humor of a melancholy monk. but what

soever I am or shall bee while I live yea, though I turn'd Hermite,
I am sure not to putt off y^e indeleble character of,

My Lord,

Yo^r grace's

most humble servant,

R. LEIGHTON.

MY LORD

The Coñmissariate of Lanrick becoming vacant I was forc't to dispatch y^e choyce of one for it on purpose to avoyd the crowds of severall recoñmendations, and y^e vexatious importunities with w^{ch} they were press'd. Ye person I have chosen is one John Graham, Coñmissary Clerk of Dunblain, & have putt another in his place there, being under some kind of promise to thē both to doe them a kindnes if any opportunity should offer, and I have done it freely to them both; whereas for y^e Coñmissariate, though one of y^e meanest, more was offerd mee by some of the competitors then I think one much better were worth, if sett to sale in y^e market-place, & I think it a shamefull abuse that Churchmen should so coñonly doe soe by these places, disposing thē to any man more bids, and I heartily wish this were discharg'd. but that w^{ch} pains mee now most in this particular is y^t I understand by y^e Earle of Kincardin that yo^r grace had a mind to recoñmend one to y^t place, w^{ch} could I have had y^e least foresight of, there is no doubt it would have bin reserv'd for him; but I hope yo^r grace will pardon my hastening to dispose of it, for y^e true reason I have given account of. the person I fixt on is both of approved honesty & ability & will reside upon it & attend it constantly, & is indeed worthy of a better place if any such were at my dispose. And yet after all this rather then yo^r grace should take it ill either y^t I was so sudden or y^t y^e person yo^r grace intended for it should be disappointed I would doe my utmost & I hope might prevayl with my freind to surrender back his gift; but if yo^r grace incline not to putt him & mee to y^e retrograde I would engage myself for y^e gentleman for whom yo^r grace desing'd

this place that y^e first & best of that kind within y^e diocese, if it fall vacant in my time, should be no otherwise disposed of. I again begg yo^r grace's pardon & that I may know yo^r mind in this, & to my utmost power it shall bee obey'd. I hope this long postscript will be pardon'd, for sometimes y^e circumstances of these litle affairs require more words then matters of greater importance.

For my Lord Comissioner
His Grace.

CLXXII.—JAMES DUKE OF YORK TO THE DUKE OF
LAUDERDALE.

[23136, f. 12.]

November 11, 1673.

I receved this morning yours of the 4 from Lethington, and am glad you gott well thether, and am sure you will do your part to keep things quiat there as they should be, though I easily beleve some here would most willingly enflame things there as they have done in this kingdome, but now it will not be in the Earle of Shafsbury's power to do it with so much authority as he has hether to done since his Ma: has taken the great Seales from him, and given them to S^r Hen: Finch; there is likly to be other removes which you will heare of shortly, as I am told: this is all is fitt to ventur by the post. For other newes there is none only that the Dutchesse indisposition, which is a lousnesse, has hinderd hir from setting out yett, but by letters from Paris this day I heare she is somewhat better and hops to be well enough to sett out at this day, which is all I have now to say but that you shall never find any alteration in me to you.

JAMES.

CLXXIII.—THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE TO THE HON. CHARLES
MAITLAND.

[23136, f. 14.]

[Account of the first organised opposition to Lauderdale.]

Holyroodhous, 13 November, 1673.

Yesterday I went up to the hous and opened the parl^t, where I met wth such a spirit as I thocht never to have seen heir, w^{ch} makes me wth the more assurance repeat what I hinted before at my first coming into this kingdome, that there have been industrious tamperings from London heir. I shall set doune a breif narrative of what passed, reserving my self to reflections upon it for some few dayes till I finde out more, & then I shall send up ane expres to receave his Maj^{ties} comānds.

After prayers and calling the rolls (w^{ch} was all was necessarie upon ane adjournment) I presented his Maj^{ties} letter, w^{ch} was read, Then I did speake what I doe heir inclose to be humbly shewen by yow to the King. But before I goe further I must tell yow that ever since I came hither I have been told of great clamors had been raised against the matter of the præemption of the salt^a all over the countrey, as also against the imposition on tobacco, w^{ch} yow know was laid on by generall consent & given to Sr John Nicolson, for w^{ch} he was to give up the noblemen's bonds for the old publick debts, and no less clamor against the Kings gift of the forfeitures of the brandie. Of these the Duke of Hamilton & others spoke to me, & I thought I had satisfied by telling that assoone as I came to this place we should have a faire & a free discours upon all those matters. I came hither on Monday, and on Tuesday I was told that the D. Hamilton had kept severall meetings with those very persons who have opposed everything in all the former Sessions, & that many were heithned with those pretended greivances, Yet my Lord Hamilton did never speake one word to me, so I thocht my

^a This privilege had been given to the Earl of Kincardin.

self secure against any publik opposition till at least we had had a free conference upon all that could be objected in any matter. Yesterday morning some eminent persons came & told me it was industriously given out that I intended presently to press ane answer to the King's letter in relation to the warre, and then adjorne, & take no more notice of any thing. My answer was that I should quickly cure that foolish jealousie, for I wold onely move the referring the King's letter to the articles to prepare ane answer to his Ma^{tie} to be presented to the parl^t nixt week. Accordingly after I ended my speech I did desire no more then the referring the letter to the articles that ane answer might be prepared against nixt week (w^{ch} those who had spoke to me in privat were confident wold satisfie) but then appeared the contrivance of the opposition. First rose up the Duke of Hamilton,^a & with a faire preface opposed the referring the Kings Letter to have ane answer prepared untill their greivances were heard & redressed. The E. of Morton rose & said that he adhered to the D. of Hamilton's motion. The same short speech was made by the Earles of Eglinton, Cassillis & Roxbrough & Queensberrie. The Earle of Dumfries explained the matter more fully & desired a Co^mmittee for greivances might be named. Then S^r Francis Scot made a formall wise set speech, wherein he fell upon the warre & said it was onely for the benefite of England, for their trade and their plantations, wherin this kingdome were made worse then strangers, & that this kingdome could have no benefite what ever were the issue of it. The Laird of Polwart moved that a Co^mmittee might be named w^{ch} he stiled Lords of the Bills,^b & that all the members might be admitted into the Articles. The whole house seemed amazed, yet the speakers were well answered by E. of Athole, Earle of Argyll, Kincardin & Lord President. Then I

^a Hamilton and the malcontents henceforward went by the name of the "Party." Lauderdale usually speaks of them as the "Faction." See Mackenzie, pp. 253 following.

^b See the interesting account of this in Mackenzie, p. 257.

rose up & calmly told them that I had onely moved to referr the drawing of ane answer to the King unto the Articles, That there was no intention to surprize the Parliament, That the house might alter or adde as they pleasd. I told how furre the Kinge was from countenancing any just greivance, That no man was further for the good & ease of the kingdome then I was, That I had just now told them in the King's name That I am fully authorized to any good law could be offerd for the good of Scotland, but I desird that they wold have the civility to answer the King's gracious Letter, and that those motions for altering the constitution of Parl^t. & Articles might be forborne for I should never agree to anything like that.* My Lord Hamilton & his partie still insisted against the answering the Letter. Then I moved that a question might be put whither they wold referr the answering the Letter I or No, for if it should pass in the negative I knew well what to doe. This made them wave the question, but Polwart moved againe for his Lords of the Bills, & desired that it might first be put to the vote whither They were a free Parl^t or not. This tempted my patience, but I resolved to be moderate, and desired that the house wold remember those words & the importance of questioning the authoritie of Parl^t. He insolently answerd he wold owne them. Then the Earles of Athole & Kincardin did fall sharply on the words & desired the King's Advocat to doe his duety. Duke Hamilton did stand up for the defence of Polwart, & it growing into a heat, The E. of Dundonald moved me to adjourn the Parl^t. He was seconded, and I, considering That the removing those pretended greivances might probably take off such as were not ingaged in worse designs, I did adjorne the Parl^t till Monday. This day I called a great meeting of the considerablest of all the 3 Estates, & amongst them I called D. Hamilton & E. Queensberrie. When we met, I told them that I wold not mention any thing of what past yesterday, but because

* Polwart's proposal, above.

I had heard of some things w^{ch} were a burden to the Kingdome, I desired we might freely talke of them for mutuall satisfaction. I beganne with the preemption of the salt, w^{ch} I said never did enter into the King's head till the Comissioners of the Th^{rie} prest it & caryed it on. I desired that they might speake freely, and that first to consider the good of the Kingdome, The King's profite, & the interest of the Saltowners. The E. Kincardin most handsomely offered to lay down that Lease the King had given him for the good of the Kingdome. Much was spoken against it, little for it. At last it was moved that the matter might be considered better & a new meeting might be on Saturday. D. Hamilton intimatid his desire to have it broght into Parl^t & no more meeting, but I said so faire to all the 3 pretended greivances^a That all seemed satisfied except that Duke, who desires brouillerie & to make himself popular, w^{ch} he seems to take for the way to be a great man, & I am sure he brags what great freinds he hath at London, & I much doubt Mr. Burnet hath contributed much to the puffing him up.^b I had almost forgot to tell yow that E. Tweeddale spoke very ambiguously. I am sure he meets with the high Lords, and yow know whose creatures S^r Francis Scot & Polwart are. Thus yow have a true account of what past yesterday, w^{ch} I pray yow shew to his Maj^{ty}. Let me know his sence of my speech, for according to my custome & duety I will not suffer it to be printed heir till I know whither the King will have it printed or not. If the King approve it, give a copie to Lord Maynard. Doe not yow seeme discomposed, I am not for all this, & I am sure if they doe not good I am sure they shall doe no hurt.

And so, deare brother,

Adieu.

^a The pre-emption of salt, brandy, and tobacco.

^b Burnet, i. 363. The whole account bears the strongest evidence to Burnet's accuracy.

CI XXIV.—THE DUKE OF LAUDERDALE TO THE HON.
CHARLES MAITLAND.

[23136, f. 18.]

Holyroodhous, 18 of Nov^r, 1673.

On Saturday I wrote to yow as fully as I could, I shall now proceed to the end by every post his Maj^{tie} may see what is doing heir. On sunday the news came of his Maj^{ties} taking the seale from the E. of Shaftsburie; I bore it with great moderation, but I could easily read in divers countenances what operation it had. His Maj^{tie} hath reason for what he said of his Lop^s correspondences heir, & I dare say he is not mistaken in the man whom he told yow was his chief correspondent, & I have reason to suspect that the Lord Yester was to have made his principall applications thither. Upon Sunday I had many advertisements That the Lords who keep their constant meetings at Masterton's^a were resolved to fly high in the parl^t, with severall motions all tending to the subversion of that excellent constitution of the Articles w^{ch} is the security of Monarchicall government heir.^b They were to insist on the motion for a Com^{it}tee to be establisht for receaving grievances So to make the Articles insignificant, & to lay (as I thinke) a foundation for perpetuall trouble. They had suggested that I wold press againe ane answer to the King's Letter & immediately after it adjourne the parliament (thogh I thought I had sufficiently obviated that when at first I had offered a week's time for preparing the answer, & when I had offered the redress of those three things against w^{ch} there was so much clamor raised), I tooke therefor a resolution to prevent all, & to speake what I heir send inclosed (to be presented to his May^{tie}) So to establish the Articles & to prevent wilde motions, w^{ch} wold have forced me to adjorne the parl^t till I should acquaint the King. I therfor spoke in one breath what I heir send yow. The Duke of Hamilton wold have spoken but I told him the

^a The usual place of such meetings. It was where the Billeting plot was formed.

^b See footnote to vol. i. p. 134.

parl^t was adjourned, so he sate doune. Many set speeches were prepared, but my soddaine adjourning made them be kept cold. After the parl^t rose it pleasd the D. of Hamilton to cry out in the nixt roome against that proceeding. The E. Eglinton said we have no Articles. They talked they wold not goe to the Articles, some said some Lords wold come in to see who wold put them out. To the first I said to such as told itt me, That I wold try who wold refuse, To the 2^d I told that I wold put them out & maintaine the way of the Articles as long as I lived in all capacities.* Alwayes this day I went up at the houre appointed & I find them met, & we went on as we used to doe. We beganne with the matter of salt, & the E. of Tweeddale, who was the father & mother of the preemption of the salt, is now the great haranger against it. The E. Weems & some other saltowners came in with a petition to be heard for their interest, And to morrow morning is appointed for the Comiss^{rs} of Th^{rs} to heare them, & to report to the Articles at 4 afternoone, where we are to meet againe. Many assure me That my offering so franckly to satisfie in those 3 things so much complained of will Let the world see It is not the ease of the Country but some thing els w^{ch} they are driving. I have been assured That they intended to have had a Deputation from the parl^t for some of them to goe up to the King with their greivances. Most doe say that they intend to make it appeare there is a difference betwixt the King & his parliament. But doe yow assure the King from me, That if good can not be done, I shall secure him no hurt shall be done. for I shall never suffer anything to be put to a question to shake the foundation of the Articles, or such a thing as may force me to give a negative. If such a thing be prest in the house, The King hath allowed me by my instructions to adorne the parl^t as I shall thinke convenient, And I will thus use it, I will

* This desire to change the Constitution was really a revolt against the system of personal government, which was secure so long as the present constitution of the Articles were maintained. It is more than probable that it was at Shaftesbury's advice.

adjerne the parliament for 3 weeks, for I will acquaint the King before I doe any thing to the prejudice of his authoritie or the present constitution of parl^t or Articles. If any will goe to London they may, but they shall never, so long as I sit heir, have any authoritie to send parl^t Comissioners to the King to treat with him as the Rebells did during the Covenanters rebellion. If his Maj^{ty} like this way w^{ch} I resolv to follow, Let me know his pleasure & his will shall conclude me. I doe humbly propose to his Maj^{ty} to give me authority to secure in parl^t the redres of the 3 particulars, of Salt, Brandie, & tobacco, w^{ch} I thinke wilbe of great advantage at this time ; & if his Maj^{ty} will please soe to doe that ane instruction be hastend to me to that purpos. If his Maj^{ty} dislike it let me know his comānd, and it shall be obeyd.

For avoyding of making noyse, I will not send ane expres as yet, I will see what this week will produce, & constantly this way acquaint his Maj^{ty}.

Beseech his Maj^{ty} from me not to publish this speech w^{ch} I doe heir inclose. I doe not addres these accounts to the King immediatly, for avoyding his trouble, nor have I a copie, for I have no time to write almost anything, being forced to heare & talke to so many. So my Deare brother

Adieu.

Excuse me to my freinds.

APPENDIX A.

LETTERS FROM ARCHBISHOPS SHARP AND BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

I.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP to ARCHBISHOP SHELDON. Edinburgh, Octob^r 9, 1663. Recommends Dumfries* for a large share of the fines. As to the Church, “the shismaticall and seditious spirit amongst us is not yet conjured down, nor will it be suppressed unless the execution of the lawes made be more rigorously prosecuted.”

II.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET to ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

I find that, in our absence, the spirits of our discontented persons are much heightened, and that their impudence and insolencies are great; how much they are countenanced and encouraged by some who have pretended to your Gr/ to be our great patrons and patriots I am ashamed to relate.

This weeke and last there hath beene so great a confluence of discontented and deposed ministers (as here we terme them) to this place, and so many conventicles kept (both against the expresse

* Dumfries remained the adherent of the Archbishops until 1666. See vol. i. p. 244.

letter of the law) that I was overwhelmed with hourelly complaints from our friends both of the clergy and laity: these insolencies made the deeper impression upon me when I considered the wnhappy opportunity they had chosen for affronting his Ma^{ties} authorities and laws; which was when most men were muttering their discontents against the Commission now ready to sitt; and when My lord St. Andrews (on whom the whole weight of our church affaires rests), My lord Rothesse (the only active officer of state); and my lord provost of Edinburgh (who is the only person that secures the peace of this citty), were all absent: at last the apprehension I had of some unlucky designe drave me to my Lord Chancelour, with whom I was so plaine and free that he was driven to a very weake and lame apology, with which I shall not trouble your Gr/ at this tyme. The next day in privie counsell he moved (and accordingly they enacted) that the Lord provost and magistrates of the citty should search for such persons and conventicles, apprehend and present them to the privie counsell; adding withall that I had given the information which occasioned this motion; and what this meant your Gr/ may easily apprehend: however, in this his Lo^p/ and I shall not differ; I shall be as willing to beare, as he is to cast, the odium of such actions wpon me.

Next Weddinsday our Commission is to sitt doune, and what course they steere your Gr/ shall know by my next.* All this while my lord primate hath beene at St. Andrews, but is expected here on tuesday at furthest. I have had of late some debates with my Lord Chancelour and others of the counsell about the vacant stipends, which were appoynted by act of parl/ for the reliefe of the suffering clergie; and am able to make it appeare that of many thousand pounds taken wp wpon this account nothing is payd, nor (for anything I can see) intended, to the true sufferers. If I receive not satisfaction herein, at our meeting next weeke, I shall be constrained to represent some mens partiality and prejudice against

* See Sharp's letter for April 21, vol. i. p. 194.

honest men, and beg your Grs/ assistance in obtaining his Ma^{ties} order to provide for those poore distressed sufferers, who hitherto have beene neglected.

My dearest Lord, I see I shall be looked wpon as a spie here, and have nothing to support me amidst all the difficulties and dangers which I must encounter but the conscience of my owne integrity and the countenance and favour which your Gr/ and my lord primate are pleased to afford to

your Grs/

most humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, Feb. 27th,
1664.

III.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Since I receaved your Gr^s letter I have had little tyme to retorne yow ane answere; we sate two dayes in Commission at Edinburgh, and have censured some few ministers and some laymen, the one for preaching contrary to law, the other for withdrawing from church and discouraging ministers that yeeld obedience to the laws: among those that were censured were some ministers who mett at St. Andrews, in one Mr. Wood's house, and were witnesses to a seditious declaracon, which he signed a little before his death. We could not prove there accession to the paper, but declared the paper seditious, emitted a proclamation against it, and commanded it to be burned at St. Andrew's (where it was hatched) by the hand of the hang-man. We mett with some impertinent debates at the first sitting of the Commission, some great men, contending for nice formalities of law, thought to have

rendred all our proceedings ineffectuall and wselesse, but finding another kynd of entertainment than they expected (accompanied with that courage and resolution which became our places) they struck saile and submitted. In all our debates and votes, My Lord Treasurer and Lauderdale's relâns, adhered to ws, with very much brisknes, for which I humbly beg your Gr/ would be pleased to returne them thanks.

Our proceedings in the Commission, and the care we tooke to crush our fanaticque interest, made sevin or eight of our grândees in Glasgow take leave of this countrey and make a visit to their distressed brethren at Amsterdam, with a purpose not to returne till presbytery be rampant.

Since I came hither I have kept a diocesan synod, which was more frequent then any that hath beene kept here since our restitution; I blesse God our proceedings were so vigorous and harmonious, that some few dayes worke hath much raised the hopes and hearts of our friends, and if our great ones were not rotten at the heart, our difficulties would not be great. There was a factious fellow (one Crookshank^a ane Irish minister) who translated Buchanan's *de jure regni apud Scotos*, to have beene dispersed here, about the same tyme your treasonable pamphlets were intended to be published in England, by which your Gr/ may easily see whether it be crowne or mitre they strike at; if diligence had beene wsed the author might have been taken: However I am now tracing their footesteps, and thinke I shall be able to prove that others have had accession to it: but the truth is our reall friends are so hated and persecuted, and we so wnable to encourage or reward them, that those who both would and could make discoveries dare hardly pay common civilities or respect to ws. I have suspended two of our factious ministers at our synod, and am now citing some others to appeare before me the 24th of this instant. My lord Cochrane (whom my lord S^t Andrews and I recommended to your Grs

^a Killed at Pentland.

favour) hath beene very wsefull to ws in this corner, he is my lord Chancelour's favourite, and sent (as I imagine) to patch wp a peace betweene him and Lauderdale; I am as much for it as any man; but thinke it will neither be permanent nor advantageous to our interest. Your Gr^s/ friendly letters came very seasonably to ws, and did (not a little) refresh our spirits, for which and your many other superlative favours you have the humble thanks and constant prayers of

Your Gr^s/

most humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Glasgow, Maij 2^{do}, 1664.

IV.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD AND

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I have litle to flye to but your Gr: goodness to shelter me for my too late returne of my humble acknowledgment of the great kyndnes expressed by your Graces some weeks agoe, which was very refreshing: our Chancellor's unexpected death^a did putt a stop to my paying that duty which I desired my lord of Glasgow some two weeks agoe to excuse. We have litle else which gives us matter of encouragement safe that we find our condition tendered with so much care and concernment by your Gr: for which we can make no other return but that of our thanks and prayers. It is well for us your affairs there proceed so hopefully, for by your stability and settlement only we can expect quiet and safety here: our professing freinds are decreasing, our reall ones are very few.

It is not fit for me at this distance to say much to your Gr: of

^a May 29th or 30th.

the great crisis y^t the publick concernes here, especially of the church, are now fallin into, by the vacancy of the Chancellor's place, upon the filling of which the expectations of all doe hang, who therby will take measures of our fate, the setling or unsetling of our order; his Ma^{ty} has not many of our noblemen to make choyce, if he shall pitch upon one of the late professing converts^a we shall be givin over as undone and lost in the apprehensions of people, which will lead them to contemne us as insignificant and then to bandie against us, perswading themselves y^t whatever may be at present pretendit by those who they judge to be no freinds in heart to the Church, ther is an effectuall design layed to crush the interest of the clergy, and encourage that faction which look for a reviving of the covenant and a revolution upon former pretensions; the most of our people doe ebb and flow in their hopes and feares as they see the King order his places of trust, and those who are most considerat and discerning think y^t our all lyes now at stake and are jealous of our tottering standing, which the right disposing of the Chancellor's office can only setle; it is well his Ma^{ty} hath taken the consideration therof into advice and deliberation, God almighty direct his choyce so as all may see that it is his steady resolution to have his service thoroughly prosecuted by instruments whose principles and interest abstract them from hanker after gratifying a party disaffected to the publick settlement; our hope is y^t an opportunity for serving the Church's interest being now putt into your Grace's hand so as it is not probable such can be offered afterwards, yt your Gr: will seriously interpose with his sacred Ma^{ty} so to order the disposall of that place as the subjects heer may find y^t the Churches concernments are not neglected; I know how this freedom may be construed by some had they notice of it, but the importunity of freinds here hath prevailed with me to use this plainnes with your Gr: which I desire you may keep to yourself alone, and impute to no other design in me but to my

^a Of whom Lauderdale was one.

sollicitude, after long agitation in my thoughts, least any respect of duty in the Churches eminent . . . at such a juncture might be charged upon me. thus with my prayers for your long preservation in health and peace I take leave, who am

your Grace's most obliged to honour and serve you,

ST. ANDREWS.

Edinburgh, June 19, 1664.

Addressed:—

For the most reverend father
in God

My Lord Archbishop of
Canterbury his Grace
Primat of all England and
Metropolitan.

V.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

My last may justly seeme the effect rather of blind passion then deliberate reason, for the apprehension of my duty extorted it from me even when I was conflicting with griefe and anger, and both in extrema.^a The losse of my dearest kinsman the Earle of Teviot overwhelmed me with griefe, and the stupidity and indifferency of our brethren so little concerning themselves in our publike affaires (even when our all seemed to lie at stake) did sufficiently kindle and enflame my choler. That my lord primate wrote not was to avoyd suspicion of being a sueter for the Chancellor's place,^b and whether his silence at such a tyme was to be commended or condemned I will not dispute, but I am sure he wanted not a remembrancer, and that others write not when he is silent is not much to be admired. However, I must crave your Grs/ leave to say that the favours shown by his Ma^{ty} to some suspected persons (though I hope wpon very good grounds) are

^a There is no letter answering to this description.

^b Notice Sharpe's letter of the same date.

accounted a court desigine to introduce the presbyterian interest, and secretly and insensibly to supplant ws and the generality of people of all sorts will hardly allow it any other construction, and if a Chancelour should be chosen who were but suspected to favour that interest, our condition (which at present is difficult and dangerous) would become desperate and remedillesse. I hope your Gr/ will pardon this freedome upon a double account, the one is that if I saw that ruine imminent which wiser men with dread apprehend, I know not to whom I could have my recourse for countenance or counsell but only to your Gr/; the other is that if that should befall ws (which God in mercy avert), it is not improbable that my condition migh prove singulare, yett there is a doore of hope open, and it would be difficult to prevent what we feare, but if these discontented humors be not nipped in the bud I am affraid to thinke what the conclusion may be. This I may confidently say, that it will not be long before your Gr/ must be acquainted with our condition, and our affaires represented to yow by a better hand. The lord of heaven and earth blesse his sacred Ma^{tie} with a peaceable and prosperous reigne and your Grace with a long and happy life to his glory, his churches good, and the comfort of

your Grs/
most humble obliged and obedient
servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, June 19th,
1664.

Addressed:—

ffor the most reverend father in God,
My lord Arch-bishop of Canterbury
his Grace.

VI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.
 Edinburgh. July 16, 1664. Sharp is going to court to represent the interests of the Church at this crisis. The writer trusts "that nothing may be done or determined with reference to our vacant offices of state till my Lord Primate be heard in our behalf, for, if we should now (which God in mercy avert) have the chancelour, advocate, and vacant judge's places supplied by persons who either really were, or were but supposed, or suspected, to be lukewarme or indifferent as to our concernments, we would certainly be left in a remedillesse and desperate condition."

VII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

I have just now taken leave of my lord Primate, who this day began his journey toward the court. Our affaires are wholly left to his conduct, not one of our order offering so much as to limit or contradict him in any particulare. The maine bussines will be to continue the Commissioner, either to gett a Chancelour of our owne nomination or none, and to gett the fines distributed according to our mind, in which I am but very superficially consulted because suspected to differ from wiser men; and yett I dare appeale to themselves whether I moved in these particulars further or otherwise than they appoynted. I am and have beene as much a servant to my lord Commissioner as any one in the kingdome, and confesse that his Matie might be better served by a Commissioner then by many, but that much hath beene done this way I thinke they will not alleadge, nay happily the lease that they who plead for a Commissioner have not advysed him to it. I shall only repeate that your Gr/ may justly admire that of all our ministers who publicly affront authority not one is apprehended, of others (who are not yett so impudent) not one punished according to his Maties advyce; they doe as publicly and confidently goe about preaching, baptiz-

ing, etc. as I doe in the discharge of my duety, and have more great persons to pleade for any one that is cited upon that account then the Bishops and all their followers would have if they were to be banished the kingdome againe or arraigned for their lives ; and to deale freely with your Gr. I feare the great designe at this tyme (which I am told hath beene consulted with those that are not our best friends) is to palliate and excuse what is past and to promise for the future that which will never be performed. As to that which relates to the church I make no question your Gr. will speake your opinion freely and I hope my lord St. Andrews will follow your advice. We are in the darke and discouraged that we heare not any thing from the court.

Your Grs. most humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

VIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Your last letters (which seemd to dissuade my Lord St. Andrews from his intended journey)* did much disquiet and discourage him, and if they had beene communicated to the rest of our brethren would have begotten great thoughts of heart and made most of vs despond if not despaire of remedy, for our condition is worse then your Gr/ and other friends with you seeme to apprehend: it is not to offer our opinion to his Ma^{tie} in the choice of a chancelour and other officers of state (though even that concerns vs as much as our standing) that we desire to be heard at this tyme, but in that which more immediately concerns his sacred Ma^{tie}, nor is it our little insignificant authority or interest that is scrupled, but his Ma^{ties} soveraigne power and prerogative. There are many that owne our

* He made the journey, however, and, according to Burnet, urged his own claims to the Chancellorship upon Sheldon.

office and order in the church who will not take the oath of allegiance, and not a person whom we have yett questioned for disobedience to our ecclesiasticall laws and constitutions that will endure the oath of allegiance, and how enclinable these people are to new tumults and commotions your Gr/ will heare from a better hand; when these things are rightly represented to your Gr/ I am sure yow will not judge this applicā to his M^{tie} wnseasonable or wnnecessary. I shall only say that many doe and may wnderstand the mysteries of state better then myself, but no man shall more faithfully represent what they feare or apprehend, and I had rather your Gr/ should heare that I were made a sacrifice to the fury of our enemies then that by my silence I had betrayed my trust. If your Gr/ will be pleased to pardon me this wnpleasant addresse, I shall remitt particulars to my lord primate's relān, who will (I hope) be on his journey before yow receave this. The difficulties of my diocese are many and great, and yett if those that participate most of his Ma^{ties} favour and bounty did their part^a my worke would be easy, and, as it is, if his Ma^{ties} will take ane effectuall course to secure the peace I hope ere long I shall give your Gr/ a good account of my diligence. I beseech your Gr/ countenance and encourage my lord St. Andrew's, for he meets with difficulties and discouragements more then I could have apprehended, and I must say your Gr^a/ countenance and favour is a very great support to him and to

your Gr^a/|
 humble and obedient servant,
 ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, Aug. 20th, 1664.

^a This complaint is frequent from both Archbishops.

IX.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/,

Having this opportunity to convey a letter to your Gr/ by a private friend, I thought it my duty (with all submission) to represent to you freely my thoughts and apprehensions of our affairs; and the rather that I perceive those things which have been often debated in private here are not much minded above. That I never apprehended any great difficulty here (but in securing the peace) all my addresses to your Gr/ and my Lord St. Andrews will demonstrate, but conceived this would prove somewhat difficult, if his Ma^{tie} should break with the Dutch, or any other of his neighbours or allies; and therefore beg'd that his Ma^{tie} might be moved to employ that fourtie thousand pound of excise (which was imposed for that very end) in maintaining such a small militia as might secure our peace at home, while we are engaged abroad, and the command of these troops given to persons of known loyalty and integrity.^a However, since his sacred Ma^{tie} by good advice hath ordered his affairs otherwise, silence and submission will become me best: And indeed it is very probable the designe that is laid may produce the intended effect, and then I am sure I have my desire: That which troubleth me most is, that I have seene (oftener then once) great projects and designs shrink and shrivel away to nothing, and some great persons who at first seemed to me too hot and fierce in a short tyme coole, and grow more moderate and remisse, and have been left alone upon the stage, when wiser men have made a faire retreat.

Since my Lord Commissioner^b came home he hath been pleased to allow us very many and ample testimonies of his respect and favour, which hath encouraged me to use that clearnesse and

^a Sharp was more successful in 1665 in the case of the money raised by the fines.
—Burnet, p. 214.

^b Rothes.

freedome with him which becomes our order; and wpon debate with his Gr/ I find one instruction wanting, which I conceive to be most necessary, and that is in case there arise a rumour or report of any commotion in England or Ireland, that he may be empowered by his instructions to secure all dangerous and suspected persons; this I pressed the rather because there are at this very tyme besides lieutenant generall Leslie (who, I thinke, is no changeling), Major Generalls Montgomery, Munroe, and Holburne, all persons of desperate principles, besides many more whom I shall not reckon; I find not my Lord Commissioner so forward to move for this additionall instruction, lest the court should apprehend (which we industriously avoyd) that there were some cause of feare; and therfor my humble request to your Gr/ is, that you would (if others^a neglect it) gett this added to his other instructions. How, or by whom our two new judges were nominated I know not, but am sure one of the two (who, indeed, is a stranger to me) was excepted against by all our brethren, and the other is hardly above the reach of suspicion.^b If your Gr/ knew what my condition were here yow would easily be enduced to pardon my freedome. I have my owne fears that what was done now at Court was some months agoe projected here. I only beg secrecy from your Gr/, and that this may be allowed to sleepe by yow, to be a witnesse for or against

your Gr^s/ humble and obedient
servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, 9th 22th, 1664.

The discovering of some of my former letters hath done me some prejudice, but I regard it not.

^a e.g. Lauderdale.

^b Tweeddale and Nisbet.

X.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/,

The commotions and tumults wherewith we have beene allarum'd in this place will (no question) be represented to your Gr/ before this can come to your hands ; and therfor I thought it my duety to give yow this free and impartiall account of all, to prevent the misinformans w^{ch} may be made by partiall and byassed persons. His Ma^{tie} hath of late beene so wusually defrauded of his customes and excise, that the lords of his Exchequer judged it convenient to revive ane old act for sealing all forreigne cloths and stuffs, and seizing what was wnsealed as wncustomed goods ; this offended the shopkeepers, who immediately shut wp their shops, and seemd to vilifie the Excheckquer's authority ; wherewpon three or foure souldiers were sett as sentinells before the shop-doors, to hinder the transportan of those goods till the case were legally debated and determined : on Weddinsday night some foolish boys and inconsiderable persons reviled and provoked those souldiers, w^{ch} occasioned a great concourse of disorderly people in the high street, about 9 or 10 a clock at night, and this was repress by the lord provost and lord Lyon's presence. The next night the tumult was greater, to w^{ch} severall of the apprentices came with swords and assaulted the house of one Sir Walter Seton, a farmer of the customes ; this seemd one to be repressed by the prudence of the same two persons who appeared the night before, but after the provost's removall from that place the fray began afresh, and some of those persons had enterd the house and were very insolent, till my lord Lyon (who stood himself upon the guard all night and behaved himself prudently and well) came downe with a few musquetiers, wpon whose approach all fled, except some few that kept the stairs, of which one being killed all the rest made their escape, save only one baker, that was found in the house. This (though in it self very inconsiderable) made a great noise, and might have proved a dangerous preparative. And therfor My lord Commissioner called

the counsell next morning, examined the matter of fact, threatened the provost of Ed' and other magistrates, more (in my humble opinion) then they deserved, and charged them immediately to make open all the shops that were shutt, to seize all the persons who were knowne to be accessory to this tumult, and to raise their companies to keepe guard by turns to secure the peace of the citty, all which was instantly done, and not so much as any one heard to move his tongue since. The fellow who was taken in the house (though for ought I can heare one of the most innocent) is this day endited and condemned, and (I thinke) to be hangd this afternoone, the rest to be afterwards proceeded against. My lord Commissioner expressed a great measure both of prudence, integrity, and courage in the conduct of this affaire, and was ready with his horse guards to have enterd the citty, if there had beene any need. I hope the severity that hath beene used, and the care that was taken to suppress this, will prevent the like for the future. I can assure your Gr/ all the lords of his Ma^{ties} privie counsell expressed as much abhorrency and abominān of this horrid and hainous attempt as could be imagined, and (though others may represent things othir wise) the provost and magistrates of Edinburg contribute not a little to our tranquillity and peace. I have no more to beg of your Gr/ at this tyme but to entreate My lord Lauderdale (and if need be his sacred Ma^{tie}) to advise the most effectuell course can be thought wpon to secure our peace, at least till we see what the warre with the Dutch is likely to produce ; and that all care may be taken that discontents be not wnnecessarily multiplied, and if these two rules be observed but a little while, I am confident (by God's blessing) we may live to see his Ma^{tie} more absolute than any of his royall predecessors ever were, and his kingdomes enjoy (wnder him) that peace and prosperity w^{ch} is dayly desired and begd by,

may it please your Gr/,
your humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, 9th 26, 1664.

I must crave your Gr/ pardon for the above-written information, the person arraigned is not (as I was informed) condemned as your Gr/ will have by My lord Commissioner's informān to the Earle of Lauderdale.

XI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/,

My absence from this place, and the uncertainty of our affaires since my returne hither, have occasioned my silence this tyme past ; and I could wish our condition were such that I might safely be silent still, and save yow the trouble of such unpleasant addresses. My complaints have beene as frequent (and almost as free) to others, but either they or their answeres are lost by the way : your Gr^s/ favourable accepting my former applications hath begotten you this new trouble which others wisely decline and avoyd. How many and great our discontents are your Gr/ seems sufficiently to apprehend ; and how little we have to secure vs from discontents at home or attempts from abroad. I must beg leave to inform yow All the forces we have out of the three petty castles of Edinburgh, Sterling, and Dumbarton are but six hundreth horse and foote : all the arms and ammunition we have in the kingdome would not provide six hundreth more. I have often begd that our forces might be made wp twelve or thirteene hundreth, that is to say, 900 or a 1000 foote and 300 horse, or (since that was thought too great a burthen to this poore nation) that at least a magazine of arms and ammunition might be provided to arme (if need require it) such as wpon principles of honour or conscience would serve his Ma^{tie} ; but without his Ma^{ties} very particulare command I have small hope to obtaine either : and of what yow were pleased to promise in your last I heare not a word.

* These letters should be read in connection with those of Rothés to Lauderdale in vol. i.

I must say I find my lord Commissioner pretend a great readines to doe whatever My lord St. Andrews and I advyse him, but we are not so forward as I could wish ; and I am affraid if any misfortune doe befall ws we will beare too much of the blame. It is true wisdom to prevent as much as we can, not only all probable but all possible dangers and inconveniences, and how well this rule is observed amongst ws I am affraid your Gr/ may have occasion to heare. It is not improbable I may both adventure and loose my little all when wiser men may retreate and withdraw,* but I would be loath to perysh as a knave or foole: if your G/ knew what applications have beene made even to my self, not only by reall friends but even by supposed enemies, yow would pardon this pressing importunity ; when both seeme to apprehend danger it is tyme to ws to provide for the worst. I have given your Gr/ a short but very true account of our condition, and have proposed those which I conceave to be the most proper and ready remedies, but with all submission to your Gr/ or any other with whom his Ma^{tie} shall be pleased to consult. What I wrote to My lord St. Andrews, when he was last at court, was communicated to some and made use of here to my prejudice. And therfor I entreate your Gr/ not to make this or any other of this nature so publike, and what your Gr/ shall thinke fitt to returne by way of answere or advyce lett it be delivered to my nephew, who sent your last, and will be carefull of any think that comes from your Gr/ or any of your servants to

your Grs/ most obedient humble servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, Feb. 2d, 1664.

XII.--ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.
Glasgow. March 27, 1665. "When we are at best we are not

* This, repeated more than once, refers, I cannot but think, to Sharp.

able to doe much, and at present (I am affraid) not willing to do the little we can." . . . "Our eyes are upon his Ma^{ties} expedition against the Dutch; if it please God to blesse and prosper him with good successe all will be quiet here; if otherwise it is to be feared a great many will thinke and say (as formerly) that providence hath put into their hands a good opportunity to rebell. It is fit for us to be upon our watch tower till we see how it shall please the lord to deale with these poore tossed and afflicted churches."

XIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

As I am very confident that there would have beene but little done here in order to the security of this kingdome without his Ma^{ties} particulare command; so very hopefull that by the prudence and vigilancy of his Ma^{ties} ministers of state all intestine commotions may easily be prevented with no considerable charge or trouble to the publike. There is no question to be made but our condition at present is very meane and miserable; yett it is certaine so much money may easily be levied as will maintaine all the forces which his Ma^{tie} seems yett to require: and if our discontented phanatikes gett ane opportunity to embody, they will thinke it no difficult worke to raise five tymes more. I have beene of late at a visitān of the southern part of my diocese, and so could not attend the last counsell day; but since I returned hither I find the counsell have ordered all our phanatikes in the west to be disarmed this day; this I conccave will be of no great use or advantage to the publike, for by the best intelligence I can receave they have yett few or no armes butt swords and some pistolls; and have not yett reccaved what they expect from Holland, and if they had the full provision of armes or ammunition which they expect I am affraid this bussi-

nes hath not beene arranged with so much secrecy but that they have had opportunity to be acquainted with it: and therfor my humble request to your Gr/ is, that course might be taken to secure the leading persons, and then we need not feare that the commons will attempt any thing, and in my poore opinion it were fitter this should be done when yow thinke the fleets are ready to engage then afterward. this I once proposed to your Gr/ before, and have since offered it to my lord Commissioner's considerān, who seemd to me to entertain and approve the motion. That day I came from Glasgow I gave order to the lieutenant of his Maties guards to secure a vessell which lay on our west coast laden with corne, which accordingly is done, and proves (as I suspected) a dutch bottome. if I had beene at home it is possible I might have seized some papers by which further discovery might have beene made, for certainly she lay there upon designe, and (as is supposed) not without hopes of protection; whether any of our neighbours were interested in the lading or not I shall study to enforme my self. Of late I have suspected an intercourse between the scots in the north of Ireland and our male-contents in the west,* and therfor wrote to my lord Bishop of Londonderry, by whose civill and obliging returne I am much confirmed in my opinion; this correspondence I resolve to entertaine, and beg that your Gr/ (by a letter from your self or any of your friends) would be pleased to encourage him to continue this intercourse of friendship, which I imagine may be wsefull to ws both. any thing that is intended for our security would not be too long delayed, for when any thing is ordered or determined by his Matie above, it must admitt of some necessary delayes here before it can be conveniently putt into execution; and how dangerous such delayes may prove your Gr/ may easily conceive. it is not only for his Maties honour, but also an advantage to his service, that his subiects take notice that whatever is acted is done by his owne particulare order, and to be ascribed to his owne care and conduct. God allmightie blesse and prosper him in all his wndertakings and

* On this see Reid's *History of Presbyterianism in Ireland*; also vol. i. p. 235.

xx

THE LAUDERDALE PAPERS.

give us that comfortable account of the victory and successe of his
forces both by sea and land which is dayly begd and prayed for by,

May it please your Gr/,

Your most obliged and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Edinburgh, ap: 18th, 1665.

XIV.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

St. Andrews, Apryll, 1665.

MOST REVEREND FATHER AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

* * * * *

The condition of this church I hope will grow better when the
condition of the nation is mendit, we doe what we can to ridd the
church of the corrupt and perverse clergy, and have made a good
progress in planting those who are orderly and obedient, but the
ministers who are outed doe much to poyson and alienat the people
from the King and authority, and the popish emissarie priests and
Jesuites are no more industrious in ther way of perverting then we
find these censured ministers to be in ther waye; these ill disposed
persons have too much matter to work upon by the poverty and
discontent of many of our nobility and gentry; they resolve to
forge pretexts of religion for seducing, and to be satisfied with
nothing till they have overturned all and set up themselves if they
can: all observing men have now find y^t his M^{aty}s late resolution
for appointing a high co^missionar was most prudent and of greatest
importance to his service, else it were impossible to preserve
government or quiet in Scotland; the church owes very much to
my Lord Co^missionar his countenancing and assisting of us, and
making it his chiefest care to procure obedience and respect to our
order; it would contribute much for his encouragement and
strengthening against the difficulties which may occur by occasion
of this warr with the Dutch if your Grace shall be pleasit by a line

to give him thanks and exhortation to prosecute this acceptable service to the king and church, for which I shall be a humble suter. We are much concerned to importune Almighty God by our prayers for a blessing upon his Ma^{ties} councilles and forces in this expedition, which if it prosper matters may goe the more smoothly with vs, but if ther be a rubb we must expect to meet with greater difficulties and danger then is imagined; the disaffected heer are very daring and heightned by ther expectations from this warr; it were wisdom in tyme to provyd for securing of the peace and duty of this kingdom, which in my humble opinion will not be effectually done by the taking from some people in the west countrey ther fire armes: we have thoughts of sending up my lord of Glasgow before the sūmer be over to give his Ma^{ty} and your Gr: an more full account of our condition then is fitt to be done by wreating. I have desired this gentleman, S^r Walter Seatoun, to wait upon your Gr. and present this; he is of good principles and affections for his Ma^{ty} and the church, and if your Gr. will vouchsafe to preach to him, he can give a true account of our present condition, and you will find him to be a knowing discreet person, who may be of very good use to our interest. I beg your Gr. pardon for all this trouble, your paternall zeal and concernment for the weal of this church imboldens to it, and doth ingage for your long préservation for the helm and conduct the daily prayers of,

May it please your Gr:

Your most dutifull brother and humble servant,

S^t ANDREWS.

Addressed:—

for

The most reverend father in God

my very good lord,

My lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace

Primat of all England and Metropolitan.

XV.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

* * * * *

Of all the particulars which were projected by ws, approven [by your] Gr/, and graciously granted by his Ma^{ty}, when I was last at court, [there] is not any one thing pressed or prosecuted here ; but designes laid to marre and obstruct all, to the great admiration and amazement of our friends. I will not say but there may be here (as in Rome) unus qui nobis cunctando restituet rem, but I must be excused if I suspect and feare the worst; and my apologie shall be adeo vehemens cupio ut vix credam. I have beene all along affraid that the least opportunity could be offered would raise new troubles and commotions in this wnsettled countrey, and that a right course was not yett taken to secure our peace; but my superiours (those that sitt at the helme)^a have been of another opinion, and it would be allmost as easy for me to remove mountains as to saile (as I have done) against both wind and tide. However I hope your Gr/ and others will allow me some more charity when yow hear how handsomely they begin to stone ministers, even at the gates of Edinburgh, wnder my lord Commissioner's nose; the relān of this tumult I remitt to the Bishop himself, who was wpon the place, and hath promised to give your Gr/ or My lord of Winchester ane exact account of all that passed in that skuffle. It hath pleased God so to order it that the first breach was not in my diocese; but I am confident (if more then ordinary care be not taken) the next will be with ws. I beseech your Gr/ beg of his Ma^{ty} that his orders for securing our peace may be forthwith putt in execution, otherwise specious pretences will be offered for delays till our distempers grow incurable, for certainly the first news of any disaster at sea will dispose ws to a new rebellion. God blesse

^a Lauderdale.

and preserve his sacred M^{tie}, and send ws such happy news from his royall fleet as may be a terror to his adversaries and a comfort to all his faithfull subjects, particularly to

May it please your Grace,
Your Grs/ most faithfull and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Glasgow, May 22,
1665.

XVI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Since I receaved your last I find the happy news from his Ma^{ties} fleet have much changed the face of our affaires; yett I perceave both my lord Commissioner and my lord St. Andrews more sensible (then they seemed formerly) of the peoples dis-affection. And both of them seemed on satterday last to presse the necessity of my hastening wp to give ane account of our condition, but since (wpon second thoughts) some delays are cast in the way as if something else were intended. My feare is, that when I have done all I can (and perhaps more than I should) to satisfie mens desires, I be constrained at last to come without taking leave.

Your Grs/ countenance and favour is that which hath supported my spirit, and I shall beg the continuance thereof no longer then you find me resolute to sacrifice life and all for our common concernements and to sett my self in opposi to that inundān which is too likely to breake in upon us. I shall not trouble your Gr/ with more of this nature, but only crave leave to say when yow have

heard that which men studie to suppress and conceale your Gr/
will see just reason (if not to owne at least) to pittie and pardon.

May it please your Gr/
your humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

June 20th, 1665.

Addressed:—

ffor the most reverend
father in God

My lord Arch-Bishop of
Canterbury his Grace.

XVII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

I was here so long before I could obtaine audience of the king, that I began to suspect a designe; at last I made applicān to my lord Chancelour, who very freely and friendly offered to entreate the King to quicken my dispatch. The day following (w^{ch} was Munday last) Lauderdale told me the King had commanded him and me to put into wryting what I had to offer, and to waite upon him at night; which was accordingly done, and his Ma^{tie} ordered all that I offered to be made ready for his hand, which is not yett done; Lauderdale being now at my lord Ashley's, and not expected home till this evening. Yesterday in his absence I waited till his Ma^{tie} called me in to his bed-chamber, where he kept me halfe ane houre, and allowed me that freedome which I could not so well use before witnesses; I thinke he intends to call upon me againe before such as he shall thinke fitt to be present, and interrogate me wpon some of the most materiall points that I communicated to his Ma^{tie}. I find some here not very well satisfied with my freedome, and I am told it is worse in Scotland; but threatened folks live long, I blesse God I am sooner hurt than frightened. I shew My lord Lauderdale

a letter from Scotland informing me how much I was censured and blamed for the commitment of those persons, and for accusing the Earle of Kincairne;^a he seemd to be a little passionate at reading of the letter, and swore the information came not from him. I find by letters to some of our noblemen that are here that Major Generall Montgomerie's relations speake a freer language, and some eminent persons (that should be wiser) disclaime all accession to the information I have given. His Ma^{tie} hath promised me my dispatch next weeke, and then I intend to waite upon your Gr/ and my lord of London, if I can but obtaine coach or poast-horses without comming into infected places; if I cannot I shall leave with My lord of Salisbury a copy of those additionall propositions I have made to his Ma^{tie} since I came hither. God allmighty preserve your Gr/ in peace and safety for the Church's good and the comfort and support of your friends, among whom I hope you will be pleased to reckon

your most humble and obliged servant,

ALEX. GLASCUE.

Salisbury, Aug. 19th [1665].

XVIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I have waited here all this tyme for my dispatch, and now expect no more but an opportunity to mind his Ma^{tie} of one or two particulars, which are not to be determined at this tyme, and so to kisse his hand. I have had opportunity to impart my thoughts (almost to the full) with as much freedome as your Gr/ is pleased to allow me with yow; the last conference I had in private with the King occasioned a new meeting to which my lord Chancelour Lauderdaill and my lord Arlington were called; before

^a I can find no accusation of the kind from Burnet. That from Sharp will be found in vol. i. p. 228.

whom his M^{tie} proposed severall questions, which led me to most of the particulars that had beene offered to him in private. I find some of our countrey men here much displeased with my freedome, and can easily conjecture what entertainment I shall meet with at home. However, all that I moved or proposed was very readily and graciously assented to. I have obtained ane order to the privie counsell to take care of the educā of the Marquis of Huntley, and other noblemen's children whose parents are popish;^a to confine disorderly ministers to some of our northerne Islands; to prepare for our synod against Aprill next; to enioyne the King's Advocate to raise a criminall processe against those that ioyne now with the dutch, and yett have hithertoo enjoyed their estates in Scotland; to proceed severely against such as refuse to take the oath of allegiance; to take care that no person be discharged all or any moiety of his fine imposed by parliament, but such as shall take the oath of allegiance and signe the declaration against the covenant; and to see that the Commission appoynted for annuities proceed according to his M^{ties} former instructions. There is likewise ane order sent downe to secure 12 persons more, who otherwise would in all probability have studied the disorder of the west.^b One great friend did not oppose nor question the conveniency of any of these particulars, but I heare huffs very much in private.^c

I found it not seasonable to move anything for the Church (though in effect our position be not good) nor for my self (though I be not in a capacity to receive any thing of the rent either of Aderdeene, or Glasgow, till the debate about Annats be determined), but had rather suffer in my owne particulare then seeme to mynd that when the publike is in danger. I know it was rumoured about the court by some of our countrey men that I came

^a See Burnet, p. 239. He says that Sharp had instructions regarding this in Middleton's time. There is much in the Lauderdale MSS. regarding it.

^b See Burnet, p. 211.

^c This is Lauderdale, Burnet, p. 211. See Moray's letter of Sept. 20, 1667, p. 69 of this volume.

only to strengthen and support our tottering order, and therfor I told his M^{tie} that he saw now I came not upon a private designe to plead for any thing to my self or brethren; but to beg that his sacred person, authority, and power might be secured, and that would secure all our pretensions.

The King hath not yett nominated a Chancelour, but told me (the last tyme I spoke with him in private) that he thought the person whom I recommended to him would prove the fittest.^a I find, though he be Lauderdaill's kinsman, he doeth not at all relish it; but I feare doth what he can to stifle any such motion, which obligeth me to assure your Gr/ that if either my lord S^t Andrews or he be not preferred to that charge, our friends (who are allready much discouraged) will in a short tyme be wtterly destroyed. Your Grace seeth that by Lauderdaill and Sir Robert Murray and their Emissaries all scots affaires are managed here, and their correspondents in Scotland are Argyle, Tweeddale, Kincairne, Crawford, etc., and if they can draw in My lord Commissioner by this match betweene the Earle of London and his neece I am confident not a person in Scotland will have the confidence to contradict or oppose them.

My freedome with the Court hath allready brought me wnder the guilt of high treason, for there is an expresse act of parl/ declaring such persons as belie or slander the King to his subiects, or subiects to the King, guilty of treason,^b and that my freedome at this tyme will be interpreted a slandering or traducing the good people to their prince is not to be questioned: I have only this comfort, so long as God blesseth his M^{tie} with prosperity and peace I thinke they will not accuse me, for feare I prove more then I have enformed, but if it shall please God to deliver ws wp once more as a sacrifice to the fury and rage of those cruell and implacable miscreants I hope death will be as wellcome and acceptable to me as life.

^a I think this is Athole.

^b See how Lauderdale used this against Sharp, in Burnet, vol. i. p. 212.

There are two things I intend to beg of his M^{ty}, one that in the distribution of the fines a particulare regard may be had to those that have beene most faithfull, and may be most wsefull to him; another, that if his M^{ty} shall be necessitated to arme his scots subiects, no commission nor command may be given to any but to persons of wnquestionable loyalty and affection to his person and authority: and if those two rules be observed, I am sure he may unite the whole kingdome to serve his interest, but if persons of doubtfull or suspected principles be employed, God knoweth what the conclusion will be.

It is my great mis-fortune that I dare not at this tyme waite upon your Gr/ (as I intended) which hath made me wse more freedom then happily was fitt, especially at such a tyme when it is accounted no crime to breake open letters; but this comming by a sure hand I hope will not be exposed to any such casualtie. This day I thinke I shall take leave of the court, and so begin my journey to morrow, and then my great care and trouble will be to heare of your Grs/ health and wellfare, for which yow have the hearty prayers of,

May it please your Gr/,
your most obliged and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Salisbury, Sept. 4th, 1665.
No address.

IX.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

My last represented to your Gr/ the condition of this countrey as our affaires stood then; since that tyme, My lord Commissioner hath visited some of the western counties and is constrained to confesse he finds the disaffection of our gentry there to be greater

then either we enformed or his Gr/ apprehended.^a Since his return from the west we have had severall meetings, both in Commission and private Committees, in which we have urged and pressed the necessity of suppressing these disorderly and dangerous meetings which are so frequent in that countrey and so likely to usher in a new rebellion, and at last after some hott and sharp debates are likely to draw to some conclusion. I have given both the Earle of Lauderdale and My lord Arlington^b a generall account of the unexpected opposition and difficulties we meet with in all such debates, but dare not trouble your Gr/ with such unpleasant relans at this tyme; the particulars I suppose My Lord Commissioner hath communicated to the E. of Lauderdale. I shall only say that in many places hundreths meet (in some thousands) without contradiction or controll, to the great admirān and astonishment of our friends, and beg that his Ma^{ty} may be pleased to command greater severity to be used then is ordinary with us in such cases;^c if the lord be pleased to restore your Gr/ to your former health, and to preserve yow to us for the good of these tottering churches and the comfort of his people (which we beg fervently and uncessantly in our prayers), yow shall in due tyme have an exact account of particulars from,

may it please your Gr/
your Grs/ most humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUE.

Edinburgh, 10^{ber} 2^d,
1665.

^a See Rothes's letter for March, 1666, vol. i. p. 296. There he says, "ther hes bein no gentillmen befor us ffor keepeing conventicles."

^b In Keith's *Scottish Bishops* it is stated that Burnet's writing to Arlington was a chief cause of Lauderdale's enmity to him.

^c This, with many similar passages, disposes of the statement in Keith that Burnet was the advocate of clemency.

XX.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

I thought (by this tyme) I should have beene able to give your Gr/ ane account of those particulars which we are to offer to his M^{tie}, in order to our convocā; but because the bishop of Aberdeene and some other of our number are not yett come hither, the result of our meeting will not be so soone knowne: for our confession it is likely we may approve the articles of the Church of England, but our liturgie doth not please me, and (unlesse it be rectified) I feare will not please others: However, I am for offering all to his M^{ties} view, as soone as conveniently may be, and when his M^{tie} hath considered what is offered, and weighed the condition of his affaires, then it will be convenient to determine the tyme of our meeting. There are many copies of a pamphlet (written by our banished ministers now in Holland) sent over to this countrey,^a one of the most antimonarchicall that ever I saw, and yett I feare it will hardly be disowned by any of our strict presbyterians or remonstrators, who in effect make a very considerable interest in this wnhappy kingdome: one of those books was sent last weeke to the E. of Lauderdale, and My Lord St. Andrews and I intend to send your Gr/ some animadversions upon it. By this and some other observāns we have made of late it is too manifest that as his M^{ties} difficulties grow with forraigners abroad so our discontents rise higher at home, which I wish may be seasonably and carefully prevented. We are not so active or vigorous in the prosecution of publike designes as were to be wished; but have need enough to be frequently putt in mind of our duety. I am sorry to say that we have made but little progresse in some of the particulars which were recommended to us by his M^{tie}; we are very dexterous in starting new and needless difficulties and delays,

ologetical Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since August 1660."—*Wodrow*, vol. ii. p. 7.

which quickly blunt the edge of our zeale. God blesse his M^{tie} with faithfull and active ministers of state that will mind his interest with their owne. I suppose your Gr/ hath heard how the B. of Dumblane^a hath taken leave of his clergie without consulting My Lord St. Andrews or any other of our number; whether he hath sent his dimission to the King, or not, we cannot learne; but I thinke we with all encline to crave advyce of your Gr/ and the rest of my lords of the English clergie, before we determine the difference betweene him and ws, the consequence whereof may reach other churches as well as this. if I had not the mis-fortune to be allwayes complaining, I should coniecture that he forseeth the storme and resolveth to row to the nearest shore; I wish others do not follow his example. If the warre with ffrance and Holland goe on it will be necessary to provide for the peace and security of this kingdome, for at present we may possibly prevent domestike disorders and insurrections, but the least commotion in England or Ireland, or encouragement from forraigners, would certainly engage ws in a new rebellion: this I often pressed and repeated at Court, and I am confident there is hardly one unbyassed person in the nation that will dissent from me in it. We are too much of a french temper, apt to pursue any thing that is new with much vehemency and heate, but a little tyme cooleth our courage and taketh off our fiery edge.^b Our discontents are many, our poverty great; it is impossible for his M^{tie} to satisfie our desires, and our necessitous condition makes ws apt to catch at every baite. Whether it be more for his M^{ties} advantage to have this countrey governed by a Commissioner, or by his ordinary officers of state, is the great controversie of this age, in which I dare not offer my opinion, but I must say I have knowne as much done when we had neither Commissioner nor Chancelour.

I told your Gr/ in my former letter that our fanatikes meet

^a Leighton. See Burnet, p. 212. In consequence of his representations the Church Commission was discontinued.

^b Cf. Rothes's letter of April 13, 1665, vol. i. p. 215.

frequently in the open fields (churches or houses not being able to containe them), and are animated and encouraged by their seditious preachers (the only authors and fomenters of our divisions) to all the mischiefes can be imagined; of this I have beene complaining ever since I returned from the court, but have lesse hope of remedy then ever; we make our laws severe and strict, but punish few or none for transgressing of them. About ten dayes ago the Earle of Galloway complained of a meeting in that countrey,^a at w^{ch} there were about a thousand men (besides women and young fellows), and most of them were armed with swords, pistolls, and carrabines, and yett no man must say that we are provyding or preparing for a new rebellion: and these meetings grow now so frequent that hardly one weeke passeth in which they have not one or two. Many of our nobility^b begin now to presse the distribution of the fines, but I humbly conceave it were fitter for his Ma^{ty} to keepe them wp till he see what this summer is likely to produce, or at least to commissionate those few whom he may trust with moulding a small militia for the defence of the kingdome,^c and distribute the fines among them towards the defraying this charge, which will take off the pretences of such as neither can be usefull, nor ever were or will be faithfull to his Ma^{ty}. I shall not trouble your Gr/ with other particulars till a new opportunity be offered to,

May it please your Gr/

Your Grs/ humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUE.

Edinburgh, Feb. 5,
1664.

Since I wrote this I am credibly informed that the northern counties of England are in armes, fearing a forreigne invasion; and yett I am confident there is not a person here knows how or where to begin to make opposition to any that shall invade or assault this

^a See footnote to p. 235, vol. i.

^b Especially Rothes; see vol. i. p. 237.

^c Thus it appears that Burnet supported Sharp in this suggestion.

kingdome; on the contrary, I can say that within these eight and fourtie houres I have beene laughed at for desyring that some course might be taken for our security; compare this with my letter and your Gr/ will see what our condition is.

XXI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Edinburgh, Mar. 8th, 1665-6.

Wee have had many debates about our liturgie, and to no great purpose; at last, when it was apparent that our new forms would not please, another booke of common-prayer was produced, which is that our predecessours offered to King Charles the first, and is made wp of the ordinary confession, collects, and other prayers wsed in the Church of England; only the litany and responses are waved; this gave more satisfaction, and was recommitted to My lord St. Andrews and Orknay's^a considerān, and this with our canons is to be offered to his Ma^{tie} by my lord St. Andrews some tyme the next moneth. I shall not complaine to your Gr/ either of the neglect of the publike or of my owne particulare usage, such complaints would be very wnseasonable (to say no more) at this tyme: how his Ma^{tie} is served and his orders observed the bearer will enforme your Gr/. I hope your Grs/ freedome with my lord St. Andrews will doe ws good and I am confident your Gr/ will not flatter ws. I find those that have suffered in the late troubles and encline to a conformity with the church of England are wnder great discouragements and the opposite party very high; this I have opportunity to know because that partie is pleased to wse freedome with me, which others doe not. If it please God to blesse and prosper his Ma^{ties} great affaires abroad, I thinke with little difficulty this kingdome may be brought to a competent measure of conformity with England, but if we be involved in new difficulties and confusions I am affraid it

^a Andrew Honeyman.

will be found his Ma^{ty} hath not made so good a choice of his ministers of state as were to be wished. This noble person (whom we have recommended to your Grs/ favour) can represent to your Gr/ the condition of our affaires, and the enclinations of great persons, as well as any man I know. if your Gr/ find our affaires otherwise represented to the court then I have from tyme to tyme represented to your Gr/ lett me know it and I shall study to vindicate myself from any imputān can be cast wpon

your Grs/ humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Glasgow, Mar. 12, 1666.

This honest gentleman, M^r Ker of Gradon, came hither to Glasgow to deliver me your Gr/ letter, which was very seasonable and satisfactory. The frequent representāns of our disorders in the west (especially in Galloway) have at last induced My lord Commissioner to order Sir James Turner's march into that country with a partie of his Ma^{ty}'s forces; he intends to sett foorth from hence some tyme this weeke, and it is hoped his care and vigilancy will contribute much to the repressing these insolencies, which of late have beene too frequent there. It is reported that they begin all ready to apprehend the consequents of his approach and to promise submission to the law; but I rather beleeeve it is done by the advyce of great men, who can raise and lay such evill spirits at their pleasure. It were but folly to tell your Gr/ how ridiculous we appeare who owne and espouse his Ma^{ty} and the Churches interest, and how much some men cruciate themselves to conceale their cunning conveyances from ws; it will be abundant satisfaction to ws to heare that an effectuall remedy is provided for the future to prevent such disappointments. This gentleman can represent to your Gr/ the estate and condition

of the countrey, but my lord Dumfrice knows (and I thinke will acquaint your Gr/ with) the very intrigues of court and counsell. if his Ma^{tie} would but crave an account of those instructions which he transmitted by me he would easily discern how his orders are obeyed. I hope my lord St. Andrews will meet with that freedome at the court which may well besee me your Gr/ and others, and be of great use and advantage to the Church. if I discover his Ma^{ties} dislike of our remissenes in his service, I shall looke upon it as a pledge of God's mercy to this Church and of your Grs/ singulare respect and favour to

your Grs/ humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUE.

XXIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Edinburgh, June 8th, 1666.

I find there are some who by themselves and emissaries labour to blast my reputā by contradicting the informāns I have from tyme to tyme given your Gr/ and others, and representing our condition farre otherwise then (I feare) his Ma^{tie} will find it;^a It is this which (I imagine) will at last tend very much to my honour and advantage, for there is not any thing I have informed which I shall not verifie and instruct by the attestā of persons of honour and interest, and most of the particulars they shall find either judicially proved or confessed: nay when ever I am putt to it I shall give a particulare and exact account of all the illegall convocāns of his Ma^{ties} subjects within my diocese and most of these that have beene in Galloway, the tyme and place when and where they were kept, and the number of persons which by common computā were sup-

^a On May 3, 1666, he writes, "There is small hope of remedie, unlesse his Ma^{tie} can engage his ministers of state to mind their owne interest lesse and his more, which is a piece of self deniall not ordinary here."

posed to be present at them. I am not ignorant that the generall designe of all is to excuse (or at least) extenuate our disorders, and it is probable some may plead for our fanatiques who pretend to be professed enemies to them ; I onely beg that my lord St. Andrews may be interrogated what he knows of these disorders, and what hath beenc represented by the Earle of Galloway and others to my lord Commissioner, and if I be left to stand and fall to my self lett me be but heard before I be condemned. I shall not so much as conjecture what our great men intend or designe, but I protest I am astonished to see so much stupidity and security, and so little feare or care of the publike peace: pardon me to give your Gr/ but one instance, the news of the mutinie at Carrickfergus in Ireland^a was brought to me on the 27 of May; immediately I despatched ane expresse to my lord Com^r, but that report was slighted and he trusted to that w^{ch} he thought better intelligence; wpon the 30 a 2^d and more exact informān was sent me, which I immediately sent to his Gr/, and yett nothing was done to prevent insurrections or disorders here, though we had too just reason to suspect (by the correspondence our fanatiks in the west have with that place) that this was not done without the privy and consent of some here. The great concernements of this countrey are now before his Ma^{tie}, and upon his Ma^{ties} determinān very much doth depend. I was ane humble petitioner to your Gr/ for the Citty of Glasgow in a particulare which once I represented to his Ma^{tie}; if they be not protected by your Gr/ in so just a desire, they will be very much damnified if not wndone; and it is certaine a great many will deale the worse with them, because they are assiste and countenanced by,

May it please your Gr/
Your Gr^s humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

^a See Carte's *Ormond*. It is interesting as being the occasion where William Penn distinguished himself.

XXIV.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Edinburgh, 7^{ber} 10th, 1666.

The sad astonishing news which the last expresse brought from London, and the dangerous consequences which may ensue so great a losse to king and kingdome, are the thēme and subiect of all our discourses; and the more we thinke and discourse of that irreparable losse and the deplorable condition of so many thousand distressed families, the more reason we see to dread and feare the wrath and displeasure of ane angry God, and to apprehend that these are but the beginnings of sorrows and that without a seasonable and universall reformān we are likely to be cutt off from being a nation and made a spectacle of Gods wrath and severity to all that are round about ws. But while we are thus distracted with multiplicity of anxious thoughts and feares, our duety to our dearest master, our affection to our friends, our compassion to those that suffer, and our charity to all, oblige ws to enforme our selves of the estate and condition of king and kingdome, and to be more desirous (now then at other tymes) both to know his Ma^{ties} pleasure and to expresse our zeale to advance his service and interest. The forces which his Ma^{tie} appoynted to be raised for the security of this kingdome are now levied and ready to be mustered, which I looke upon as a signall testimony of God's mercy and favour to this poore nation. The persons to whom his Ma^{tie} hath committed the command and conduct of them will certainly answere his expectān, for they are (in the opinion of all that know them) persons of very great integrity and worth, and truely for ought that ever I could observe My Lord Commissioner his Gr/ wants nothing but advyce and assistance, and I am confident if others did their part he would be lesse blamed; but I can assure your G/ he is not without his owne difficulties and discouragements. What your Gr/ predicted in your last is now too likely to come to passe, but I hope the same gracious lord who hath supported and sustained ws in former troubles will not now repudiate or reject ws, but at least propor-

tion our patience and inward consolāns to our outward sorrows and sufferings. When it shall please Almighty God to disperse this cloud and give ws a clearer prospect of our affaires your Gr/ shall have a fuller account of all that occurses to,

May it please your Gr/,

Your Gr^s/ most humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASOUE.

XXV.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, 17 Nov^r, 1666.

Since my parting from your Gr: the distractions that first the seckness and then the late dreadfull fire made at London caused me forbear to give your Grace trouble hitherto; now my Ld Coñmissioner having come to court and waited upon your Gr: I shall take this opportunity to present my humble duty in the sense of those great kyndnesses and care yow expressed for me and the securenes of this poor Church whyl I was with you, without which I can look for small encouragement to beare up under these brushes I have and must yet reckon to meet with in the discharge of what is incumbent to me. My lord Coñmissioner will save your Gr: the trouble of reading from me the account of the condition of this Church, which I cannot say is better then it was this last suñer, when I had the happines to be with your Grce. If his M^{ty} and your Grace will seriously putt my lord Coñmissioner to give a just and particular account of the greiving distempers and great alienation from what is orderly and enjoined in this kingdom, I doubt not but he will use that freedom which beseemeth his place, and by speaking that there which upon many occasions he hath done here, make it appear y^t the complaints made by my lord of Glasgow and me in our addresses to his M^{ty} have not been without cause, and y^t there are none amongst us disaffected to episcopacy and setling a

Liturgie, who are not known or justly suspected to be rooted in their enmity to the rights and prerogative of the Crown. It is to me matter of admiration how in a tym so uncertain and palpably declyning to disobedience and contempt of the lawes, y^t the King's ministers, especially persons of noble blood and abilities, doe not more vigorously and avowedly bestirr themselves for the opposing and suppressing that spirit which hath been so fatal to monarchy and nobility in these late times, and yet is not without hope and attempting to return to its beloved anarchy and chism. I have written to my ^{ld} Co^mmiss^r to acquaint your Grace with what this day is informed of an insurrection in Galloway, and of the Councils proceeding to suppress it, which by the help of God I trust shall be done speedily; but I hope y^t by this effect of the too much lenity and connivance shewn to that pernicious party, we shall be convinced y^t a perfunctory duty and a lively professing to be for the King and the church government is less and by much less then can acquit us in our respective stations to ourselves or others, or will stand in judgment befor the clear discerning eye of our great and wise master; this one thing I shall beseech your Grace to notice to his sacred Ma^{ty} y^t since his privy counsell here by ther letter under all ther hands with this express have offered it as ther unanimous judgment nemine contradicente y^t it is most necessary upon this eruption of that phanatick rable, who to gain associates profess to be for the king and covenant, y^t all persons of interest in this kingdom be forthwith requyred to sign the declaration appointed by Act of Parl^t concerning the covenant; y^t no suggestion prevaile with his Ma^{ty} to forbear giving a positive co^mmand for that effect, seeing it will be of great importance for securing the peace, and discriminating the well from the ill affected; if this opportunity be not improved for crushing the interest of that party we cannot promise to ourselves security from other attempts hereafter. By all assurances givin and observations I can make, I am of the persuasion, with which my brethren doe concurre, y^t my Lord Co^mmissioner is in principle and affection right for the Church, and does sufficiently

see the necessity of upholding episcopacy here upon the account of preservān of religion, monarchy, and the interest of this kingdom. I know he is very desirous so to approve himself to your Gr: as y^ether may be a mutuall and intyr confidence settled betwixt you which will be very necessary for the settlement of this Church both as to government and liturgy. My lord of Glasgow his late seekne and the approaching convention of estats here have hindered his coming to court at this tym, but we hope y^e nothing will be transacted in reference to the Church till he be heard. I begg your Graces pardon for this prolixity, and shall not cease to pray for your long preservation and health.

Your Graces
Most obliged and obedient servant,
S^t ANDREWS.

XXVI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELTON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Glasgow, 9^{ber} 27, 1666.

While I was wayting a letter of another nature to your Gr/, a poore minister, who fled for his life from Gallaway, brought me the news of that counties rising in armes; the messenger I immediately dispatched to my lord St. Andrews to enforme the counsell of all that he knew, and wrote to my lord Duke Hamilton to looke to this countie of w^{ch} he is the hereditary sheriff, and to the Commander of the Castle of Dumbarton to double his guards and secure his prisoners, and afterwards ordered a small guard to be kept here to secure us at least from straggling parties. Just now, being one o'clock in the morning, Sir James Turner's man brings me the sad news of the supprising that partie w^{ch} was with his master at Dumfrice,^a the taking of his master, and the killing such of his souldiers as resisted.^b the

^a See Turner's *Memoirs*.

^b There was no resistance.

number of those that are w^p is not certainly knowne, but they are very cruell, especially to our poore ministers, and there are neare twenty of these ejected ministers of whom we have beene complaining these two yeares past with the forces that assaulted Sir James: their word was "for God and the covenant." This countie and all westward will infallibly rise if our forces prevent them not, for their is not left in all our disaffected counties one souldier but fiftie foote, who are here in Glasgow. Many things in this rising looke like a designe, but I shall suspect no man. There is neither great feare nor danger, I hope, in this tumultuary convocā, if it be not done by correspondence with England and Ireland,^a and if those that order our affaires take a right course, I hope it will strengthen, not weaken, our master's interest. I shall onely say God be judge between ws that foretold this, and could not be trusted, and those that excused and palliated all these men's villanies; his Ma^{ty} will haply see (the Lord grant it be not too late) that some of ws have stood alone pleading his interest, and how we have beene rewarded God knows. I shall not desert my station so long as any partie ownes his Ma^{ties} interest, and if it please the Lord to make me a sacrifice to their fury I hope your Gr/ shall have no discredit by owning

your humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Addressed,

ffor my lord Arch-bishop
of Canterbury his Grace.

XXVII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, 10^{ber} 8th, 1666.

Before I was perfectly recovered of my fever I was constrained to make my house a garrison, and to appoint guards of horse and

^a It appeared from statements of prisoners to have been premature, and, indeed, accidental.

foote to secure our towne from a sudden surprisall, w^{ch} throu God's blessing succeeded well with ws. Since I came hither Edinburgh I find the feare and confusion was greater here the with ws, and if the Provost and Magistrates of this citty had not by their prudent conduct secured this place the citty had benee surrendered to the rebells and the privie counsell forced to flee. My lord St Andrews hath given a very extraordinary prooffe both of his prudence and resolution^a in managing the affaires of the counsell as your Gr/ would heare from others if they were as forward to represent our good services as they are to discover and trip wp our infirmities. I shall onely say they meane no good to ws that strike at him. Now, by God's mercy, the rebells are dissipated, most are for extenuating and excusing their crimes, the ministers (that engaged the people in this rebellion) and the officers are escaped, and of that promiscuous multitude that is taken I am affraid the most guilty and significant persons will be pleaded for. What ever the common report be, or the informān of those that study to keepe yow in the mist, I will wndertake to convince your Gr/ that it was the designe of some friends, as well as foes, to bring this expedition to a Rippon treaty, and to have offered to secure the King's authority and interest by destroying ours, which (at long run) yow will find to be ovr politicians' grand designe.^b It was a great mercy, and to me a pledge of God's speciall favour to king and kingdome, that his Ma^{tie} was pleased to raise those standing forces, for if they had not putt a stop to the insolency of those rebells I can assure your Gr/ the covenant had bene as wniversally receaved as ever, and a very numerous army moulded before this tyme. There were ten of the rebells hangd here yesterday in the afternoone, nine more are to be tryed next weeke. The heads of those ten are sent to the respective places where they appeared most active, and the right armes of all to Lanark, where they lifted wp their hands to sweare and renew the covenant; and by this

^a Cf. Bellenden's account of his behaviour, vol. i. p. 260.

^b Cf. Sharp's letter of November 17.

tyme your Gr/ will see how little I have failed in my wnhappy predictions. It is very necessary that his Ma^{tie} should returne particulare thanks to the Generall and subordinate officers, and to the provost and magistrates of Ed^r, who have deserved very well of the publike at this tyme. My lord St Andrews and most of our brethren here are very earnest to hasten me wp to court, and there are some other eminent persons, our friends, that presse me as hard as they ; but I thinke it will be convenient to see what course is taken here for rooting out the seeds and principles from w^{ch} this rebellion hath sprung before I wndertake such ane employment, that I may be able to enforme your Gr/ and others as well of what may be expected for the future as of that which we have observed in tymes past ; and without your Gr^a/ advyce and approbation I shall not be very fond of such ane employment ; I both foresee the danger and am willing to adventure my life and interest rather then by my silence to betray my trust. What else I have to offer to your Gr/ I cannot well trust to paper, but will rather reserve it to a better opportunity, which I hope God will yett allow to

your Gr^a/ most humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXVIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

10^{ber} 17, 1666.

I have not much to adde to my last, nor any reason to change my opinion, but too just reason to say that (whatever is pretended at court) our feares and apprehensions of danger are greater then when the rebels were marching in a body. So many there are who make it their great worke to palliate and conceale their designe, that I imagine little or nothing will be discovered ; nay, so great and generall is the affection of the people (esppcially in the west) to that partie, that my lord Com^r/ complaines of those that are knowne

to be returned home to their houses few or none can be seized or apprehended. This honourable person, the Earle of Newburgh (who was in the action, and hath since been eye and eare witnesse to what hath passed in counsell and committee) will give your Gr/ane exact account of particulars, from which I suppose yow will inferre all and more then I have asserted. I shall onely say I imagine there will be as contradictory informāns offered to the court as ever were, and if it be our mis-fortune not yett to be trusted, the calamity will prove fatall as well to others as to

Your Graces humble and
obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXIX.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, Jan. 12th, 1664.

I shall not presume to trouble yow with reckoning wp the many dangers and difficulties to which we are dayly exposed or the discouragements which we meet with, because I am confident the account which this honourable person, Lieutenant-Generall Drummond^a will give of the condition of this countrey will be sufficient to convince your Gr/ that we c[an] have very little security or satisfaction here. We have beene [lately] much allarmed with the reports that have beene vented of h[is] Ma^{ties} dis-satisfaction with ws and our order,^b and have beene credibly informed that we were discharged to make application to court by any of our owne order, but are ascertained by My lord Com^r/, his Gr/, that those are but idle and malicious fictions, which putts ws in hope that his Ma^{ties} iustice will allow ws a hearing. So many of our brethren as are mett here at the convention have entreated me to make one journey more to Court to represent their thoughts and desires to our gracious master, and it is likely after the convention I may be dispatched,

^a See vol. i. pp. 275, 276.

^b It was now that Lauderdale brought James Sharp to his knees. See vol. i. pp. 274 and following.

but without your Gr^s/ approbation it will be no pleasant employment to

your Gr^s/
most humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXX.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/, Edinburgh, June the 27, 1667.

Master Spotiswood hath beene very earnest with me to putt your Gr/ in mind of his bussines, which wholly depends upon your Grs/ favour, and I fear will hardly be brought to a close without more then ordinary difficulty, especially as our affairs are now stated. The turning the treasury into a Commission, and ordering my lord Commissioner to accept the Chancelours place, is variously construed here; what effects these changes will produce I cannot conjecture, but wish nothing were moved or offered at this tyme which might occasion any discontent, especially to those that are in military employments. There is not so effectuell a course taken to secure this countrey as many thinke necessary, and if ane enemie make any attempt wpon ws I feare we will be found very confused and naked. There is little left to be done by ws of the clergie but to pray for better tymes and patiently to beare what we cannot avoyd. My lord S^t Andrews nor no other of our brethren are yett come hither, and that is the true reason that your Gr/ hath had no further account of our condition from,

may it please your Gr/,
your most humble and faithfull
servant,
ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Addressed :—

ffor the most reverend
father in God
My lord Arch-bishop of
Canterbury his Grace.

XXXI.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

Edinburgh, Aug. 9, 1667.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

I have waited here two months and upwards and cannot observe the least privity or inclination in persons of trust to pursue those orders which his Ma^{tie} was pleased to transmitt by me:^a Onely two proclamations are emitted for securing the persons and goods of our ministers from violence and robbery, and yett in despite of these proclamāns some have since beene wounded, many sorely beaten, others searched for and almost all plundered, which is likely to cast loose a whole county in my diocese, and some part of the diocese of Galloway, and this would easily have beene prevented if his Majestie's orders had beene duly observed; but I find it is resolved that nothing which I propose shall be pursued; by this connivence and impunity those rogues are now come to that height of impudence to brag that they shall not leave a curate who owns a Bishop in all that countrey, and if his Ma^{tie} take not notice of our lenity and remissenes in pursuing and punishing those rebels I am confident they will in a short tyme effectuate what they propose.^b How this cometh to passe I shall not say, but it is generally apprehended that those who were most likely to have curbd their insolency looke wpon themselves as sleighted and ready to be laid aside,^c and it is supposed the other partie either cannot or will not destroy that interest. I know my freedome in this (as in other things) will displease both parties, but I dare not conceale that which is so necessary for our deare master to know. The bearer hereof, Generall Dalyell, is a rough man, but of incomparable loyalty and integrity, a faithfull friend to all that serve the king or church, and if your Grace shall be pleased to fall wpon that discourse with him I am confident he both can and will give yow a free and impartiall account of our affaires, of which your Gr/ may make good use. I could wish your Grace would aske him whether ever any person (except the rebels

^a The conciliation policy is intended.^b See footnote ^c to p. xxix.^c The army leaders and Rothes, Hamilton, and their adherents.

who are in prison) hath had the oath of allegiance or declaration (which made so great a noise) tendered to them. How many have beene lett goe and are dayly discharged by order who were in the rebellion. How little care is taken to discover those who are yett lurking in the countrey and dayly falling wpon our poore ministers, with what vehemency those persons have beene pleaded for in counsell and what friendship they find every where, what difficulty hath beene made to forfeit those that are declared traitours, and how improbable it is that the rest will be any further pursued; and when your Gr/ hath heard him upon those particulars you will easily discern what our condition is.

I shall onely adde this: if it please his Ma^{tie} to call upon his Commissioner and such other persons as he thinks fitt to trust I am confident by their advice such a course may be taken as will settle and secure our peace and prevent those dangers to which now we are exposed.

Your Gr/ may remember I presented a petition to the King in behalfe of the citty of Glasgow for that mortified money due from the late Marquis of Argile. The E. of Lauderdale moved that Argile might be allowed to see and answer it, which accordingly was granted: since I came home they will not so much as treat with us but seeme to be much displeased that I should have presumed to complaine. We humbly beg that your Gr/ will be pleased to enquire whether his lop^s/ answer be returned, that so the citty may make application to his Ma^{tie} to know his Ma^{ties} gracious pleasure and the assurance we have of your Gr^s/ favour and goodnes is that which encourageth both them and

your Gr^s/ humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Our lord chiefe justice is to sitt this month to forfeit those who were chiefe in the late rebellion, and when every body else declined to be assessors it was laid on the Earle of Lithgow and honest Dunnfrice; others may eat the kernell but will be unwilling to cracke the shell.

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XXXII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, Aug. 9, 1667.

This honest gentleman, Doctor Collins, hath too just reason to complaine of the hard usage and entertainment he hath mett with here and can expect nothing but new difficulties and delays unlesse his Ma^{tie} be pleased to favour him with a second recommendation; he hath potent enemies to encounter, of whom he will give your Gr/ ane account, yett most of the Judges did favour him and pittied his condition. By another of this same date which cometh by Generall Dalyell I have given your Gr/ ane account of what occurreth to me. how ever others may represent him to your Gr/ or his Master he is the only person that ever I saw fitt to curb the insolencies of that surly party with whom we have to doe, and if his counsell had beene followed^a I am confident this kingdome had (by this tyme) beene in a very happy and quiet condition. As in my former so in this I must beg your Gr/ advice and assistance for obtaining that mortified money is due by the E. of Argyle to our citty of Glasgow. If the Earle's answere to the petition be come up we shall send up one to represent the case to his Ma^{tie} and to waite for his gracious determination; if not your Gr/ will see they intend nothing but delays, especially when yow heare how we have been laughed at and threatned here. The good Bishop of Edinburgh hath beene in a decaying condition all this yeare and is not likely to recover, it is thought some of our great persons designe Dumblane^b for his successour, and if they have the confidence to offer at this they will give us just reason to suspect that it is not without their privy and consent that our ejected and dis-satisfied ministers pleade every where that they are not against Bishops, but allow

^a *i.e.* extermination: see vol. i. p. 255. In another letter to Lauderdale of Dec. 29, 1666, Dalyell says, "Without extirpation the moist pairs of this countray will second this rebellion." The order forbidding officers to leave their charge until the army was disbanded prevented Dalyell from carrying Burnet's letter.

^b Leighton.

episcopos præsides who shall preside in their meetings but have no more power than any ordinary presbyter, and thus in their wisdom they propose as an expedient to reconcile the presbyterian and episcopall church. However we are sure that they who speake this moderate language are great favourites, if your Gr/ heare any such motions made we hope yow will put a stop to them till we be heard pleade for the Church, and my owne humble sute to your Gr/ hath beene and is that yow will be pleased to recommend to ws a person fitt to attend and sollicite our affaires at court, and I am confident no person can come with your Grs/ recommendation who will not be very wellcome as well to others as to

Your Grs/ humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXXIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Glasgow, 7^{ber} 23, 1667.

Since my returne to Scotland I have often pressed my lord St Andrews to call a meeting of the Bishops that the common interest of the Church (in which every one is concerned) might be considered and consulted by all: at last we mett, all except the three northern bishops, and were very sensible of the dangers to which we seeme to be exposed at this tyme: we find all that hath beene formerly offered or ordered waved, and new propositions made for securing the peace of the state, which (they say) will in due tyme settle and secure the Church. Towards the close of our meeting I moved that our opinion might be freely represented to your Gr/ and your advice craved for preventing the dangers which wee have too just cause to feare. To check this motion My lord primate moved that another letter should be likewise written to the Earle of Lauderdale, and that those two might not clash or interfere his Grace was desired to draw Lauderdale's and your Grs/ left to me;

his (which it is likely your Gr/ hath seene) was drawen and signed,^a the other I refused to undertake, unlesse I were allowed to use the same freedome with your Gr/ in the publike which I doe in my owne private letters; this I found would be scrupled by some, because my lord primate had affected that the correspondence betweene your Gr/ and the Earl of Lauderdale was so great that what was written to either was usually read by both, and in private he told me that the freedome I had used with your Gr/ (especially in my last) was made knowne to the Earls of Lauderdale and Tweeddale, and did displease them very much: but threatned folk live long, and if I suffer for anything I have said or done I hope I shall suffer as a christian, and am confident it will be both my honour and advantage. We are now (it seems) resolved to overcome our rebells with patience and lenity, for at our last meeting of counsell a report was agreed wpon to be sent wp to his Ma^{tie} advising him first to indemnifie all that were in the late rebellion (except those that are allready forfeited or wnder processe of forfeiture), provyding they come in by a certain day, and give what security they can for the peace; Secondly, to give power to all noblemen and gentlemen (who will bind for themselves and tenants that they shall keep the peace) to arme themselves for the security of the countrey; Thirdly, to promise that no person who enters into this bond shall be obliged to take the declaration.^b All that we desired to be added was that all who were indemnified or trusted should promise to live in obedience to the laws, without which the peace cannot be kept, but even this was denyed ws as a motion that would destroy that new designe. My lord Commissioner, Duke Hamilton, and severall other persons of honour and interest, dissented as well as I, and (as I am informed) refused to signe the report. This short account I am obliged to give your Gr/ for your information, the satisfaction of some of our brethren, and my owne vindication.

^a See p. lix. for this letter. There is none to Sheldon, which seems to establish the truth of Burnet's account. For Sharp's gloss upon it see his letter of Nov. 2, p. lvi.

^b Robert Moray's overtures.

This very designe cost his Mat^{ties} royall father very deare; God allmighty save and preserve himself. I dare not deny my owne opinion is that many that deserve well will be brought to beg remissions for serving his Mat^{tie}. Though our discouragements be very great, and designes now on foote very dangerous, yett if I were certaine that the condition of your Church were such as I could wish, I should not be much dejected or dismaid. I hope your Gr/ will be pleased to allow Mr. Smith^a to give me as much in answer to this and my former as yow shall thinke fitt to communicate by him to

Your Grs/ most humble and
obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Of particulars the bearer Generall Dalyell will give your Gr/ an account, if yow please to read this over to him and entertaine him wpon this subject.

Addressed:—

ffor your Grace.

XXXIV.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON'S
SECRETARY.

SIR,

Glasgow, 7th 23, 1667.

I have given his Gr/ the best account I can of our present condition, and of what hath occurred since I returned to Scotland, and am confident that Generall Dalyell (who is a rough but very honest man ^b) will say more than was fitt for me to write. When his Gr/ hath considered all, I beseech yow take a fitt opportunity to beg his Grs/ answere and advice both to this and my former letters; yow will heare possibly from others what my condition is here, and find by the motions of the court that there great designe is to blast or breake me.^c As all the countenance and encouragement

^a Sheldon's secretary. See next letter.

^b Rothes calls him "a breif wurthie honist gentilman."

^c See the letters for this date about Longifacies.

I expect is only from his Gr/, so some advice from him at this tyme would be very seasonable. I must entreate yow to consult his Gr/ in order to that mortified money due to our citty from My lord Argyle, that when his Gr/ judgeth it seasonable or convenient one may be sent up to give his Ma^{ties} a full information of the particulars in debate or difference betweene his lop/ and them, and to waite for his Ma^{ties} gracious determination: what paines yow are pleased to take in this or any other particulare which concerns them or my self shall be thankfully acknowledged by,

Sir,

your very faithfull friend

and servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Addressed:—

ffor my worthie friend Myles
Smith, Esquire, secretary to my
lord of Canterbury his Grace.

XXXV.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Glasgow, 8^{ber} 24th, 1667.

I have nothing left me now to support my reputān or spirit here but the opinion some worthy persons have of your Grs/ kyndnes and respect to me; nor have I any other way to serve or oblige my friends but by recommending them to your Grs/ favour. I need not tell your Gr/ how eminent a person My lord Duke Hamilton is and what his interest is in this kingdome, I shall onely say he is one of my nearest and best neighbours, one who appeared eminently active in opposing and repressing the late rebellion, and hath obliged me more then all the nobility in this countrey. He lives in the midst of the most disaffected countie in the west, and may (if he be encouraged) be very usefull to the publike; and I am sure a noble person of his honour, integrity, and interest may confidently expect

all the good offices and services your Gr/ can render him, especially one who by his favours and civilities hath so much obliged

your Gr/

most faithfull and humble servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

There is no man can give your Gr/ a more exact account of the discouragements we meet with here or of the peevish and froward humour of our phanatikes.

XXXVI.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

St. Andrews, Nov^r 2d, 1667.

The honor of your letter of Octob. 1st, which I did not receive befor the 26th, was very acceptable and refreshing, though it bear a challeng of me; seeing I found therby, y^t notwithstanding of the representations have been made of me since my last parting from Whythall (when to my apprehension I had left the king and your Grace in a good opinion of me), yet you have a reserve of justice and charity for me, which I might well expect, knowing how much I had been beholdin to that paternall care I found upon all occasions from your Grace to this poor Church, and the great freindship shewn to myself, who layed open my heart to you in all those complaints, feares, jealousies, desires, you were pleasit to allow and expect from me; this kyndnes I reckoned you would not abandon, till you found I did abuse it, or had heard me, and could not be cleared of what has been cast upon me; nether can I acknowledg yt my omission to wreat to your Grace did flow from any distrust of my innocency in the many revolutions of affaires in this countrey, who can be charged with no further accession to them then that, knowing nothing of them till y^t by the kings comānd they were intimated, I did not oppose, nor take the pett at them; I did not think it fitt for me to inquyr into the reasons of disposing of the thesaurary, appoynting a Chancellor, woyding the E. of Rothess

his comission; I could not repyn at the disbanding of the army (though I was not present when it was spoken of at the Councill), because I found y^t nether the condition of the kingdom could bear such standing forces, nor did the interest of the Church requyr it, and all my brethren when we spoke in privat of it, befor and since the disbanding, professed to me to be of the same opinion, and y^t it was not fit for us to medle in it. In the advice given to the king for indemnifying the rable of those who were misled into the late rebellion, I did concurr with the major part of the Councill according to the termes in the king's proclamation, upon those reasons which did weigh with me then, and doe still, and shall not give your Grace the trouble of reading the account of them from me now, supposing y^t you may have heard my Lord Chancellor and the Earle of Tweeddale speaking of that affair: my Lord of Glasgow, in that and other particulars of comon concern, did differ from me, but as your Grace knowes I have been just and kynd to him, so I am still so charitable as to beleieve he meant well by what he hath done, though I shall not dissemble with your Grace my feares y^t he hath mistaken his measures.

I have not yet done with my confession, and shall crave your patience to adde that after all you have heard my Lord of Lauderdale say of me and me of his Lo/ yet I believe we have cause to trust his fidelity and rely upon his friendship to the Church; and my brother Glasgow and I, with nyne more of the Bishops, having met in Edinburgh in the beginning of September, did judge it fit by a letter signed with all our hands to express so much to his Lop/, to which I received a very civil return, and since letters of kyndness have passed betweene his Lop and me: upon the Earl of Tweeddale his coming to the court I did wreat freely to the E. of L. my opinion of his Lop; which if your Gr thinke fitt you may see: I must say also that after full communing with Sir Robert Moray I am converted to the persuasion that if I be not deceived he is right for the episcopall government in the church and as dissatisfied with the way of our opposers as any person intrusted by the king for his

service in Scotland. If it be a cryme to resolve not to keepe at the barres with those whom the King trusts, or by unjust jealousies to alienate those who profess friendship to the Church, till by their actions they disappoynt my expectations, I confess I am not guiltless, and yet am in that error that by soe doing I do not disservice to the Church.^a It is my opinion that not anything can conduce more to the quieting of the distempers and crushing the hopes of ill people here, than that they find that the Bishops of this Church doe putt confidence in the E. of L.'s friendship, which I think we may seriously doe.

It is my opinion, y^t not any one thing can conduce more to the quieting of the distempers, and crushing the hopes of ill people heer, then y^t they find y^t the Bishops of this Church doe putt confidence in the E. of Lawderdaill's freindship, which I think we may securely doe, knowing y^t as his lo^p can propose nothing of honor to himself and advantage to the service of his great master by the reviving of a presbyterian interest in this countrey, so he has more noblenes and christian generosity then to expose a poor Church which depends upon his favour to be ruined by the folly and fury of absurd Adversaries, whose known principles, temper, and interest are inconsistent with monarchy, or the quiet of the state, as well as with Episcopacy in the Church. at parting with my L. Chancellor heer I did comend to his care the Church, and also to the E. of Tweeddale; if their Lo^{ps} say that to your Grace, as I hope they will, which they know and have sayed to me of our condition, you will still see cause to pity us, and be concerned for us, y^t the evill of faction and separation, which hath of late appeared more daringly then formerly, may not grow stronger by stroaking or tollerance, nor be encouraged by impunity, and tempted to presume y^t ther is no danger in tumultuating and affronting the lawes; late and

^a Sharp had now "ratted" to Lauderdale. The miserable shifts and evasions to which he had recourse, and in which he seems positively to revel, are admirably seen by a comparison of this letter with those of Moray and Lauderdale at the time (in this volume).

former experiences have sufficiently evidenced y^t that party cannot be obliged by any condescendance or moderation but by yeelding up all to ther rule and disposall; I have had opportunities these 18 years past to know somewhat of the designs, humours, way, and significancy of all the parties and interests of this countrey; I am concerned to observe the posture in which affaires now stand; I shall profess to your Grace I do not despond, but y^t if his *Majties* officers apply themselves to a speedie and vigorous course for executing the lawes, so as the wilful contemnners and disobeyers shall find they are discountenanced, and cannot escape due punishment, ther will be little difficulty found in quieting our distempers, and disposing this Church and kingdom for a solid settlement. My lord it is now a 12 month since I found y^t a clowd was drawn upon me, and, having retyred to this place with a resolution to abstract from all busines, safe that of my diocess, and to possess my soule in patience and submission, untill God should be pleasit to clear my innocency, I was visited with seeknes so as for the space of six months I did not goe abroad nor come to the councill, till about the end of July, when occasion was givin to me to wreat to the E. of Lawderdaill; and when in the begiining of Septemb^r at the meeting of the Bishops it was moved, y^t together with that to my L. Lawderdaill one should be sent to your Grace,^a one of our brethren to whom the drawing of that letter was committed was pleasit afterwards to declyn the doing of it,^b and as since that tym nether befor have I sent letters to any in England, safe as I have now told your Grace, so I did not think fitt you should have the trouble of letters from me, which could bear nothing but matter of unpleasing complaints, when I knew not how to help them, but now shall crave leave to say without offence, our evils I think may be remedied by your Grace and my Lord Lauderdale. This is the

* For this characteristic piece of knavery on Sharp's part see Burnet's letter for Sept. 23; see also pp. lix. and lxx. of this volume, and a statement of the whole question in the Preface.

^b See Burnet's account of this on p. 50.

true account I can give of myself or our affayres, and, craving pardon for my tediousnes, I shall conclude, y^t I hope your Grace will not impute any mismanagement heer to my folly, seeing I have no greater measure of understanding than God has given to me, and if I have been dishonest to the Church or to the King's service, sure I must be judged to have been so to my self; I have no end nor busines but the Churches, and the King's service; and, praying y^t your Grace may be long preserved in health and strength for the good of these Churches, I take leave, remaining

your Graces most humble and most
obedient servant,

ST. ANDREWS.

Not addressed.

XXXVII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Glasgow, Novemb. 6, 1667.

I receaved yours which came by the provost of Edinburgh the 26 of October, for which I humbly thanke your Gr/; I did allwayes expect that the disorders w^{ch} we represented should be extenuated and excused, but I wonder that any man should have the confidence to deny that w^{ch} is knowne to all. For my owne vindicān I shall only desire your Gr/ to enquire whether I did not (at one and the same time) represent to the privie counsell the cases of the ministers Borg, Glencairne, Closeburn, Dunscore, and Irongray, whose houses were all invaded by the rebells about the same tyme, and it was onely the minister of Borg was comprehended in the first proclomān, and therefor a new proclomān was emitted of a larger extent; how-ever two of these foure had some recompense allowed them by the Commissioners of the treasure, the third died at Edinburgh the day after I presented his petition to the counsell, and the fourth dares not complaine unlesse I will allow him to leave his charge. since that tyme the minister of Galston is driven from his charge, and the minister of ffinnick's house was searched for him at 12 a clock at the night, and if I be not able to prove all those particulars lett

me be accounted unworthy your Gr^s/ favour or protection. it is true indeed the parish of Borg was fined in a hundreth and ten pounds or thereabout w^{ch} was given to the minister to repaire his losses, but it is as true that the parishioners told him if he returned back they could not secure his life, and since that tyme he durst never returne to that countrey, as the Earle of Tweedale knows very well; and this is the severity they so much brag of. I have within these two moneths discovered severall conventicles not farre from this place, of which I shall not complaine till they be legally proven and represented to the counsell, for I am told that is all that is convenient for me to doe; as for the personall reproache and affronts w^{ch} I have mett with of late they shall never trouble neither King nor counsell. Of the differences w^{ch} have beene betweene My lord S^t Andrews and me my former have given your Grace some account and I had rather they should be represented to your Gr/ by others then by my self. However I will assure your Gr/ I shall neither speake nor act to his prejudice; if I offend it shall be in concealing not in divulging his infirmities. I would not have your Gr/ conclude all our nobility and gentry to be enemies to our order and interest; there are severall of the most eminent and considerable persons in the kingdome who never did (nor I hope will not) desert ws, but most men's kyndnes and friendship to us hath proven fatall to them. I beleve there are as many now at court as (if kindly looked wpon) will undertake to doe in Scotland by themselves and friends, for king and church, what his M^{aj}^{tie} shall enjoyne them, and it is fitter they should immediately engage to his M^{aj}^{tie} themselves then that others should undertake for them. for my owne part I protest I dare trust my life and all that I have in the world with them.

It is most cleare that all the disorders we complaine of spring originally from the ejected ministers who keepe conventicles w^{ch} the law declares seditious, and obeyed not the act of counsell and proclamāns banishing them 20 miles from their former livings; if his M^{aj}^{ties} former orders against such be not put in execution, or some other more effectuell course resolved upon and pursued, we shall

certainly first or last be involved by them in new troubles. I shall say no more till I heare what your Gr/ and my lord Chancelour shall be pleased to enioyne.

Your Gr^e /

humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

if those noble persons now at court and their friends be not engaged to settle and secure our peace I shall not expect much tranquility in my tyme.

XXXVIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GR/

Glasgow, 9^{bre} 22, 1667.

On Weddinsday last I receaved your Grs of the 11th of November with the enclosed narrative and acts of Commission given in answer to my complaint; how farre they answere my complaint your Gr/ will know by comparing them with the enclosed. I am not ignorant that the same method is observed with me which was observed at the procedure against the E. of Middleton,^a and perhaps the same instruments and stratagems used, but I hope they will not have the same successe, or if they have I shall at least studie to vindicate my reputān what ever becomes of life or any thing else. I confesse I have just reason to apprehend that both persons and papers will speake to the advantage of my adversaries and my prejudice, since it is generally taken for granted here that I am now wholly divested of my master's favour; yet I cannot thinke but that there are some persons of honour who will help to vindicate my innocency and integrity; all that I have to beg of your Gr/ is that you would be pleased to entreate his Ma^{tie} to interrogate My lord Chancellour before your Gr/, first, whether his lo^p/, My lord St. Andrews, and I have not severall tymes complained in private that some eminent persons did

^a In 1663. See vol. i.

oppose all our designes in Commission and allwayes pleade for the dis-affected partie. Secondly, whether he did not often affirme (and that with oaths) that if his Ma^{tie} knew what their deportment was he would be highly offended and displeased with them. Thirdly, what it was that moved him (the last day that the Commission sate) to say that he had seene his Master's authority too much sleighted and affronted in that court, etc.; and lastly, who were the persons of whom we did usually complaine in private. And if your lo^p/ have opportunity to see the E. of Newburgh at any tyme I beseech your Grace aske him privately, first, whether I voted in the cases of any of those persons who were referred by the counsell to the criminall court for the late rebellion. Secondly, whether I or any person in the counsell ever opposed the granting of remissions to any person that acknowledged their fault, but on the contrary laboured what we could to make them capable of pardons.^a Thirdly, whether (after the Commissioner had blamed ws for our too much lenity in two letters) his lo^p/ with some other eminent persons came not to consult with me how to keepe off the triall of those cases but till my lord Com^r/ returned from the west. Or if Newburgh waite not upon your Gr/ I beg that your Gr/ will desire my lord of Winchester to speake with him in these particulars. I crave pardon for offering your Gr/ this trouble; it is because they are the only persons now at Court that can help to take off these imputāns that are cast upon me. There is one thing more which I would humbly beg, that (by ane order from his Ma^{tie}) I might be allowed the perusall of the register and minutes of the Commission for Church affairs, which (if not withdrawne or vitiated) will instruct much more then I have asserted, but unlesse this might be obtained by a private order without my adversaries' knowledge I beg that it be not moved, for alas many of our registers are, like Sybilla's prophetesies, written in loose leaves and they are in their custodie and at their command from whom I am

^a This language should be compared with the numerous passages counselling severity.

not to expect much good. What ever copies your Gr/ shall be pleased to give out of this paper I desire the originall may continue in your owne custodie to witnesse for or against me, it may be this may speake for me when I am dead. I hope some of my honest brethren who suspected I had not used so much freedome with his Ma^{tie} as was enjoyned by them will now be convinced of their error, and indeed I said not so much as some of them gave me in Commission under their hands. I am as confident of my gracious master's favour and your Grs/ kindnes as ever, and yett in this case I beg no more but a faire tryall, and if I succumbe lett my enemies sentence me; but for the lord's sake lett me be allowed to vindicate my reputān w^{ch} is dearer than life to

Your Grs/ humble and obedient
servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

XXXIX.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, June 14, 1668.

I have takin the opportunity of this hona^{bl} bearer to tender my affectionat duty and service to your Grace, and to pay my humble acknowledgement of the favoure of your letter sent by the E. of Tweeddale, and to say y^t, as your advice expressed therby was very seasonable and usefull, so I have endeavoured since to make it the rule of my actions for serving the Church.

This worthy gentleman has that prospect of the condition of our affairs as he can give your Grace a full information of it. I cannot say y^t it is very well with us, but yet am not without hope it may be better. I shall not be so officious as to comend S^r Robert Murray to your Grace, knowing that he hath a greater place in your value and esteem then ther is need for any testimony from me;^a

^a Sheldon's regard for Moray was of great service to Lauderdale when his policy, as in the case of the Act of Supremacy, was likely to lead to opposition on the part of the Archbishop.

yet I shall make it my desire to your Grace, y^t you may be pleasit to give him thanks for his kindnes to me and readines to assist and further any motion made for suppressing disorders and putting us into quiet; and I think I may without any unbecoming insinuation say, y^t as by his carriage and way since his appearing for the King's service in this countrey, he hath gott a deserved reputation and esteem generally, so he has not been wanting by discourses and example to improve that advantage by taking all prudent occasions to bring vice and licentiousnes into discountenance, and to reco^mend the practice of meeknes, charity, sobriety, regard to authority and order, which have been qualities too much obsolet amongst us, and if once brought into credit and fashion would prove the most effectuall cure to our evils. The God of all patience and consolation preserve you in long lyfe and health, and strengthen your heart, as daily prayeth,

may it please your Grace,
your most affectionat and humble
brother and servant,

ST. ANDREWS.

XL.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Since providence offered me this opportunity, I iudged it my duety to represent to your Gr/ what I know of the state and condition of this countrey. My lord S^t Andrews called a meeting of all our bishops about a month agoe, which I could not keepe, being then (as we supposed) at the point of death; in this meeting it was agreed that My lord S^t Andrews should repaire to court, but what he is to offer or propose to the court they that were present pretend to know as little as I who was absent. He wrote to me to meet him this weeke at Edinburgh w^{ch} I resolved to have done

(though my health would hardly allow it) if we were not at this tyme allarumd with the report of a new rising in the west which I hope will prove a false allarum. I gave his Grace and the rest of my brethren that advice which at that tyme I thought might have beene my last to them, but I find he relished it not; I only besought them to represent our condition freely to those who are trusted by his M^{ty} with the managing of our publike affaires, and not to displease God and destroy the Church by seeking to please men, and truely to me it seems very strange that (when all our ecclesiasticall courts (such as they are) are sleighted and contemned, our ministers wholly deserted, severall of them assaulted, beaten, and wounded, and made sweare on the point of a sword never to preach againe under the present governement, multitudes of conventicles dayly kept by outed ministers, and my lord primate himself almost assassinated on the most eminent streat of our great Metropolis) any man that preterds to honour or conscience shall have confidence to say that our condition is better than ever it was. Of what hath beene done to introduce some dis-satisfied brethren contrary to law and without the privy or consent of any other of the Bishops,^a and to obtaine a Commission to visit my diocese of purpose to affront me and destroy the poore orderly clergie, I neither have nor shall complaine. I onely told my lord primate that I saw the designe was to lett all run into disorder and confusion, and then to impute these disorders to our male-administration, and offered if his M^{ty} and my brethren did judge me either unfitt for my station or unfaithfull in it, so farre to deny my self and gratifie my enemies as willingly to give place and resigne my Bishoprick for the good of the Church to any person who should answere his M^{ties} expectā and satisfie the Church better, and for my administrā I will be judged by my greatest enemies, and appeale not to the testimony of the clergie, who may be judged favourable, but to my publike registers and records, w^{ch} are not in my owne custody. However if it please the Lord to preserve us

^a See letters lxxvii. and following in this volume.

from that ruine which is threatned by a new rebellion I make no question but both I and others will appeare in our true colours, and I shall beg the continuance of your Grs/ favour and protection no longer than yow find me worthy to be accounted

Your Gr^d/ very humble and obedient servant,

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

Glasgow, Aug. 11th, 1668.

XLI.—REMONSTRANCE OF THE SYNOD OF GLASGOW.*

The ArchBishop & Synod, takeing to their serious consideration the many sad regrates & greevances given in by Ministers from all the corners of this part of the Diocess, and thereby findeing that the great Interests of Christ & his Church seeme to be in greater hazard then possibly they that live at a distance may be informed truely of; And now feareing that further silence (w^{ch} we have kept hithertills out of modesty & expectation of successfull remedies) may be constructed as Infidelity or Cowardize as to the great concernem^{ts} of the Church, In the peace whereof the State is also concerned by a neere relation: Did think fitt, In all humility and with unalterable loyalty to Our Dread Sovereigne, To expresse their modest Resentments as followeth.

And, in the first place, Wee cannot but with afflicted spirits resent; That not only the substance & life, but the very forme of true godlyness doth dayly decay amongst the generality of people. Wee are not indeid ignorant that to our great greife this is charged upon Us; although, Wee will be bold to say, that never synod kept more frequent visitations, or punished faults in their members more severely, wherein wee resolve yet to continue; Nor will wee purge ourselves of many personall defects, ffor in many things wee offend

* "Nor was this paper less seditious than the 'remonstrance,' nor the Archbishop of Glasgow more innocent than James Guthrie, for both equally designed to debar the King from interposing any way in the affairs of the Church."—Mackenzie, pp. 157, 158. See Moray's letter, p. 137 in this volume.

all, yet to speak truth, knowne to the conviction of all ingenuous & loyall persons, The true cause is; That in the clandestine (but now too avouched) conventicles, most of which have beine & yet are kept by persons of neither good principles nor practises either towards God or the King, Wee have beine represented to people as wicked and perjured persons, and that for no other cause But our preaching Christ Jesus our deare Saviour vnder this ancient government, And our intire loyalty to our King. It is farre from us to complaine, But it is too evident that all lawes & ordinances ag^t Conventicles have, De facto, done litle to restraine them, or strenthen the Churches Interest: Whence it hath come, that people who were bred to place most of their Religion In being for such a forme of Governm^t, Or such a party of their Governors, findeing themselves & their leaders so to escape reall censures, And Us sitting silent, vnder our contempt; Have chosen rather to follow the most confident than the most condemned party, Judgeing our patroeing of Lawes and Acts as litle to our dignity as their danger, It haveing beine too familiar for them to contemne what was done By a King & Part^t. And, although this hes beine formerly resented In our other meittings, yet now, findeing the evill encreasing, Wee think our zeale should proportionally grow, And leave this further Testimony ag^t it; That wee Resolve to mourne in secreit for the evils amongst our people, And, in our masters strenth, to do every thing else that may contribute to the stopping of the floude that threatens to overwhelme our ark; wherein if wee want successe through the defect of more strenth & power then is ours, wee hope to be found without blame.

In the next place, Wee cannot forebeare to Resent, that some have entred to preach publickly & avouchedly who were before censured with deposition by vs vpon weighty grounds agreeable to the standing lawes of the Kingdome, yea & exempted from that jurisdiction which by those lawes wee should have over them; so that being placed without the reach of our censures they value not any thing that is our Interest as a constituted Church. And thus

the authority of an Arch B^p & Synod (once venerable in the Church of God) is become despicable. Whence it has come to passe, that our people who once had some feare of it, and respect for Us, feareing the event of adhering to us, by the whispers of our adversaryes, have almost totally in some places foreborne to give countenance to Doctrine & Discipline under our administration. And those who have beine in Rebellion stand not sometimes publicly to threaten the persons & families of some of our number, and to heap up other reproaches & injuries upon vs w^{ch} wee stand not to mention , being more desireous to have the ruine of the Church prevented than our personall sufferings punished. Wee shall say litle of others who have entred to preach being under no other former censure then what was imposed by the state; only the evils last mentioned flow no lesse from the liberty of preaching these have enjoyed then from the rest. And if there be solide ground to evidence that they have made any reall change of their opinions & principles in reference to either civill or ecclesiastick governm^t: And if after all the reall evils that have appeared as the product of their preaching, There be any yet who will beleieve & persuade others, That peace & Unity shalbee the Result, Wee shall satisfy our selves with this our Testimony, And wish they be not disappointed of the expectation when it is past their remedy.

In the last place, Wee cannot but regrave, that for so long a tyme after that his Ma^{tie} and the High Court of Parl^t had done their part for laying the foundations of this ancient Governement in the Church, There has beine so litle done in prosecution of these laws, ffor building on these foundations what might seeme an Uniformity in the Church both for worship & discipline, whereby wee might have had the splendor of a settled Church; The want whereof has beine in our opinion the bitter source of most our confusions. The zealous redresse whereof will be a reviving to honest hearted men, and the firmest Bulwark ag^t all confusions and the men of it; And a restraint of the encrease of Poperie & Quakerisme, who look upon our confusions as their harvest.

And that these our humble Resentments may come to the view of those who by their prudence & power can afford seasonable, orderly, & effectual help, The Synod doth hereby supplicat the R. R. Arch B^p, To make them knowne to the rest of the Reverend B^{ps} of this Church, To the lords of his Ma^{ties} most hono^{ble} privy Councell, or his Ma^{ties} high Co^mmissioner & Court of Parl^t, Or any other who may contribute their counsell or authority, for the reliefe & comfort of the Church of God within this diocesse, And appoints our Com^m^{rs}, In our name to attend his Gr. the ArchBp. our ordinary, In any addresse he shall think fitt to make in this affaire, Whom also wee authorize to represent other particular greevances, w^{ch} wee thought not fitt to heap up in this paper. And if it shall please God so to order that no further use be made of this, Wee leave it in our Register, at least, as a Testimony of our fidelity to the Interest both of Church and State.

Persons to be commission at the Principall, Deane & Parson. In prosecution of the above-written Act, that part of it that authorize the Com^m^{rs} abovesigned to present the particular greevances of the Synod, The ArchB^p & Synod did appointe the Moderators of the severall Presbyteries to informe themselves speedily of all Conventicles and the Keepers of them that have beine held in their respective bounds since the first of June last; and also to take tryall of Injuries done to particular Ministers within their bounds; and other greivances, anent w^{ch} they are to take accompt of the names of faithfull witnesses that can prove the same; of the w^{ch} greevances with their Instructions & proofes, As also of their conventicles, The Moderators are required to send in their Accompts betwixt and the twenty-second of September, Either to the ArchB^p, or to the principall of Glasgow, or the Parson; To either of the w^{ch} two last named The Moderators are also appointed to send in their presbyteries proportion of the Expenssis laid on for the Co^mmissioners.

Endorsed in the handwriting of Archbishop Burnet:—

Paper

past in the Synod of Glasgow.

XLII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET TO ARCHBISHOP SHELDON.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

Edinburgh, Decemb. 24, 1669.

I am now to crave yow pardon that I have not given yow a more particulare account of my condition in this place; it was for feare I might give offence to those who make my corresponding with my English friends a part of my crime. Now I cannot conceale my condition any longer from your Grace, but find my self obliged to give yow this short and true account of what hath befallen me. I receaved ane order from my lord Commissioner his Grace on the 9th of this instant requyring me to repaire to this place that his Gr/ might intimate to me his Ma^{ties} pleasure: in obedience to his command I came hither, and his Gr/ was pleased to tell me that it was his Mā^{ties} command that I should continue no longer in the station in w^{ch} then I was: in all humility and reverence I declared to his Gr/ my readines to submitt to his Mā^{ties} pleasure and to lay both my life and livelihood at his feet, and begd that his Grace would consult my brethren of the clergie how I might with most satisfaction to his Mā^{tie} and least offence to them divest my self of my charge, and at last a forme of dimission was aggreed upon, to which I gave my consent this day, and so am legally divested of a very weighty and comfortlesse charge. Wpon the delivery of this dimission his Gr/ is to give me assurance under his hand that his Mā^{tie} shall indemnifie and secure me against any thing that can be laid to my charge before the date of my dimission and to settle upon me three hundredth pounds a yeare out of the Archbishopricke of Glasgow. My great crime (for which they say I was to be impeached of high treason) was that informān w^{ch} I gave his Mā^{tie} in your Gr^s/ hearing,* yett I blesse God most men here thinke my integrity is my greatest crime. Now I am laid aside as ane uselesse and unprofitable person. My great care will be how to dispose of my self after that I have provided a covert for my family and settled my affaires

* The real reason was, of course, his consistent opposition to the conciliation policy; and the Remonstrance of the Synod of Glasgow gave the opportunity.

here, and in this I dare not determine my self without your Grs/ advice, but if it be my good fortune to retire to any private corner in England, where I may die (as I have lived) in fellowship and communion with your Church, I hope your Gr/ and my other friends will be pleased to continue that favour and kyndnes which yow have beene pleased to allow formerly to,

May it please your Grace,
your most humble and obedient servant,
ALEX. BURNET.

XLIII.—ARCHBISHOP BURNET'S SURRENDER OF THE
ARCHBISHOPIC.

I, Alexander, Arch Bishop of Glasgow, being sensible that my service in that Province hath not beine so acceptable to his Ma^{tie} as I could have wished; And that I cannot expect my continuance therein can be so usefull to the Church as the necessities thereof at this time require; And Intimation of his Ma^{ties} Displeasure being made to mee by my Lord Co^mmissioner his G. the Earle of Lauderdaill, I do, in all humility, make a surrender thereof; Likeas I do hereby freely Resigne, surrender, & dimitt In his Ma^{ties} Hands the said Arch Bishoprick, with all Title, Right, or Interest I have, or can pretend, to the exercise of the said Office; To the benefice, Patrimony, Jurisdiction, and priviledges belonging to the same. Likeas I do constitute * * * *
my Pro^r, to that effect. With Power to them, or any of them, to dimitt & surrender the samyne in his Ma^{ties} Royall hands; To the effect his Ma^{tie} may dispose thereof as in his royall wisdome hee shall think fitt. In witnes whereof I have subscribed these p^rites, at Edinbrugh, the 24th of December, 1669.

Endorsed in pencil:—

Copy of Abp. Burnet's surrender
of the Abp-rick
of Glasgow,
1669.

to be desperate. Mr. Guthree the penman of ther petition is known some years ago to have preached publicly in justification of the King's murther and that it was like great sin of Scotland that they had testified against the taking away of his life.

M. Gillespy does now profess that conviction of the hand of providence in restoring the King; he will (be ?) loyal but presses he may not be put to disclaim the remonstrance and his former principles : Your Lo/ I believe have not seen a printed paper owned by them after the defeat at Worcester and spread at London and presented by them to all the synods of Scotland as ther testimony ; it is stuffed with tenets in reference to the King and civil magistracy of a more pernicious import then I suppose your lo/ has seen owned by the maddest phanaticks. I shall endeavour that this paper come to your lo/ hands, and if all ther fair insinuations in ther late petition to the King (which are by all who know these men here lookt upon as gross lyes) upon those ther professed principles and ther present & past actings are compared, your lo/ will see how consistent they are to themselves and whether such principles and wayes are to be endured in any settled government, and if it doe not highly concern his Ma/ service that such seditious doctrine and embroyling tenets be eradicated out of this Kirk : the truth is our ministers in the 48 were so deeply interested in such affairs that they framed to themselves new and strange principles which the Remonstrators afterwards hammered into a model of sedition, to which act they have been so long accustomed and all ther talgis and disciples have so drunk in the dictates of that mysterie of iniquity which appeareth in the whole frame of that petition as it will never be well neither with Church nor State in this poor kingdom till those principles be disowned and all versed in that wit made to learne and profess sound politicks consistent with the safety & honor of the King and the peace of his kingdom : We may all now at length be convinced that the doctrine of the 48 and 49 hath been fatal to these kingdoms, and, as it is not consonant to the reformed Protestant doctrine, so it cannot stand with the stability and

quiet of any state wher it is owned : your lo/ is wise to see into this and know what is to be done, and what difference ther is to be putt between those who of that party are misled and those who lead them and first started those principles and in pursuance of them drove the land into destructive courses, and now will not see the hand of God against them, but from pryde and malice doe still retain & own them and seek to make ther party stand by them : as for the generality of the ministers of Scotland I can assure your lo/ they acquiesce in the King's gracious pleasure, which some of them from several places whither the copies have been sent have signified to me, and the presbyterie of Edinburgh are to send ther return of thanks to your lo/ to be tendered to his Matie, and I beleieve the lyk will be done by the rest of the Presbyterie in Scotland : your lo/ has the hearts and prayers of all honest ministers and people here, who are very sensible how much they owe to your lo/ for what is done, and what cause we have all to depend upon your lo/ favour towards us and this poor Church for the future, acknowledging and adoring the singular mercy of God that his Matie hath been pleased to putt the prime management of affairs in your lo/ hands, of whos favour and good will towards honest ministers and the consernments of the Gospel we have so great ground of confidence : I shall not anticipate what by others will be expressed to this purpose. For myself I can say that since I had the honour to be known to your lo/ I have looked upon it as one of the happiest providences of my life to be countenanced and owned with that favour your lo/ has been pleased to allow me and rejoyce in it as the happiest lot I can wish if I may be continued in the same. I can pretend to no account of merit ; but, having been so infinitely obliged to your lo/ I should be most wretched & ingrate if by my wishe, purports & endeavours as occasion shall be ministered I do not tender your lo/ interest & concernments above any other person ; God almighty multiply his spirit and blessings upon your lo/ and continue to endear you to himself, your sovereign and country, and prosper the employment of your eminent parts for the publick good : what I

am or have I own it to your lo/ who has done all for me which shall eternally ingadge

Your lo/
most obliged faythfull humble Servant,

JA. SHARP.

May I by your lo/ leave tender my most humble service to your most noble ladye, all happiness attend your family: when your lo/ shall honor me with a line direct your letter to Mr. William Sharp at the house over against the black fryer wynd. I perceive the concernment of the Signet office are found to be such, after paines taken to be informed about them, as will necessitat my brother to make a journey for London, which he purposes speedily to enter upon, that he may give your lo/ an account thereof.

II.—THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO CHARLES II.

[This document is of great value as showing that this iniquitous plan proceeded in the first place from the Archbishops and other members of the Council. It was unknown to Wodrow (see vol. ii. p. 15), and it confirms his suspicion that the letter to the Council from the King, of Oct. 1st, which he gives, and which uses the very words of this petition, was prompted from Scotland.]

At Edenbrught, 6 of Agust, 1666.

In obedience to his Ma^{ties} command signified by his letter to my lord comissioner of the daitt the 26 of June, we doe humbly offer as a most effectual remedy for punishing and preventing the disorders which are in the Church, that besides A wigorous prosecutione of the Laws and Acts of State against All contraveeners and with greatest severity Against thos that ar known to be most pernicious Adversaries to the quiet of the Church, His Ma^{tie} may be pleased to consider whether it will not be expedient by Act of Councel to Injoyn that all heritors and landlords be obliged and made answerable for their servants and tenants, living orderly and not with-

drawing from ordinances or Kiping of conventicles, And for that end that they may be impowred and requyred to remove them, And that a remedy may be provided wher they have taks or Ar Rentakrs. And magistrats of Broughts to be ansuerable for ther burgissis And Inhabitants who resides within ther respective liberty for the space of six months and upwards. And for securing the peace of the kingdome it is thought His Ma^{ty} hath taken such a course that ther remayns nothing to be offered by us at this tyme.

HAMILTON.

S^r ANDREWS.

ARGYLL.

ALEX. GLASCUEN.

MONTROSE.

AIRLIE.

TWEEDDALE.

ANNANDALE.

III.—LIEUTENANT-GENERAL DALYELL TO THE EARL OF ROTHES.

MAY IT PLEIS YOUR GREIS,

To pardon my referring you to G. L. his Relation of our Leit Marthe, onle this I sal ad, to entret you not to conseue the basenes Extinke be this, for if I be not totale deseuet without Extirpation the moist pairts of this countray vil second this rebellion with a girter ; nather do I ken whider this be totale Extink bot if anay flam apier efter a dayes Reist or tuo ve sal Marthe to the Vaist for all the forsis layes in redeness twixt Redenton and Stirlen : if artikel and armes be to be had they are neseser, belive me to be,

Your Gresis servant,

DALYELL.

Edenbrugh,
29 Dec. '66.
For the Comisioners Greis.

IV.—ARCHBISHOP SHARP TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LO^p,

St Andrews, 25 May, 1668.

I had before this addressed to your lo/ the humble return of the B^{ps} to his M^{ty}'s letter sent by the Earl of Tweeddale, y^t had called them to meet; which I thought fit to forbear upon notice of your Lo^{ps} intendit journey for Scotland in the beginning of June, con-seving it to be incumbent to so many of us as can come to Edinburgh to wait upon your Lo^p there, for tendering of our humble duty and service, and laying our case before your lo^p: with an intire relyance upon your patrociny and favour. My brother William giving me notice from tyme to tyme of your well being, which I pray may be increased and continued, I have spared your Lo^{ps} trouble of letters from me till business call for it, and now have sent three presentations to be humbly offered for his M^{ty}'s syning if it shall please your Lo^p: that for Aberdeen comes again to your Lo/ because Mr. Petry, who at the provost of Edinburgh his inter-posing was gratified with it, does think after the seeing of the Manse that it is incoñodious for his wyfe and so to return for Holland: this has necessitated me to prowyd another for that Church. S^r Robert Moray, I believe, gives your Lo^p an account of the condition of this poor Church, which I trust shall find much refreshing and relief by your coming to your country, which can be no more welcome to any than to,

My Lord,

Your most humble and faythfull servant,

S^r ANDREWS.

V.—JAMES, DUKE OF YORK, TO THE EARL OF LAUDERDALE.

MY LORD LAUDERDAILL,

Whitehall, Oct. 28 [1669.]

I am very glad to find by your letter and what you sent me that the affaire of the Union goes on so well where you are.^a I wish it may so here. I am sure nothing shall be wanting that I can do to further it; and were his Majesty as well served here as he is where you are, I should make no kind of doubt of its being effected. As yet nothing has been done in it, nor will it be spoaken on in Parliament till next weeke, the House of Commons being so fond of their bill which concerns the Lords^b that they have a mind to meddle with nothing till that be sent up. I beleve Robin Moray will give you so long an account of what passes here that I shall now say no more but to assure you that you shall always find me to be

Your affectionat friend,

JAMES.

^a Charles and James appear to have been both in earnest in wishing for the Union.

^b The quarrel arose from the case of the East India Company and Skinner the merchant.

APPENDIX C.

THE REV. JAMES SHARP TO THE EARL OF MIDDLETON.^a

[This is the only letter from Sharp to Middleton that is extant. The original is in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh. A copy, slightly incorrect, will be found in the *Archæologia Scotica*, vol. ii. pp. 103-109. Its extreme importance consists in the fact that it establishes Sharp's active co-operation in the re-establishment of Episcopacy in the early part of 1661. For an analysis of the letter, *see* Preface.]

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

The expectation of an express to be sent day by day this week, occasioned my omission of giving your Gr. my account, which yet I must send by the poast. Before I received that from your Gra. of May 18, I had another^b opportunity of speking with my L. Chancellor of England to the full of all I wuld desire. His Lo^p was pleased to tell me under what character my Lord Rothess was represented, and that he beleived the reprasenter now was of another opinion both of his Lo^p and of me. He told me relating the circumstances, how my letter, dated in January, was made use of, and how much I was obliged to your Gr. testimonies of me upon several occasions.^c Having enquired particularly of the management of affairs in Parliament, he expressed a great satisfaction, especially with your Gr. conduct, saying he had always a high esteem of your (Gr.) excellent parts and temper, and now you had given ample experiments therof. The King is very sensible of

^a I have to thank Mr. David Douglas, of Edinburgh, for calling my attention to this most valuable letter.

^b He was therefore in confidential communication with Clarendon early in May at least.

^c As late as March 21st, at any rate, he repudiated, in the strongest terms, any co-operation in the design of introducing a change.

your deservings, and your country is exceedingly beholden to you; yea, he asked me of the way of your own family, and did it to my thinking with such concernment as if you had been on of his nearest relations. As to the matters of our Church he told me the King had acquainted him with what I had spoke; and by what he did ask of me and communicat to me of the King's purpose in reference to this Church and our Church, I found that which your Gr. was pleased often^a to tell me was not without ground; and I perceive clearly were not my L. Chancellor now fully satisfied y^t your Gr. may accomplish your purpose for the settlement of our church,^b he wuld not be induced to give way for removing of the English garrisons for which there is no new wale [?]. He spoke to me of the method to be usit for bringing about our Church settlement, and bid (me give) my opinion of a present expedient; which, when I had offered, he was plesit to approve, so did the Bishops of London & Worcestre, and after consultation with our Lords it was agreed that Lauderdaill and I should draw a proclamation from the King,^c to be sent to your Gr. with which I trust you will be satisfied; and with submission to your Gr. opinion I should think the time for our setling will be more seasonable and proper after that your Gr. hath come hither, and so ordered the way of it, as y^t the per-

^a On March 21 Sharp writes to Drummond: "I declare to you I have not acted directly or indirectly for a change amongst us, *nor have I touched upon Church government in sermons or conferences at our Court or elsewhere.*" The italics are my own. It is, of course, still open to the persons who would fain consider Sharp an honest man to say that "often" must have occurred between March 21 and the beginning of May.

^b Clarendon most distinctly states that Middleton went from London to the first meeting of the Scotch Parliament with the full understanding that Episcopacy was to be restored at the first opportunity. In January Sharp says, "The Commissioner professeth he hath no purpose to meddle with the Church."

^c This was the proclamation, dated June 10, which said: "We will make it our care to settle and secure the same (Church government) in such a frame as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom." It was, then, the direct work of Sharp himself.

fecting of the work may be upon your hand from whom it had its beginning, and under whose countenance and protection it must thrive and take rooting.* Your Gr. knowest the work is of great consequence, and will not want its difficulties; which can only be over come by your prudence and resolution. Many things are previous to the ordering and signing of it; and till they be mouldit, the proclamation will suffice to the disposing of minds to acquiescence to the King's pleasure, which your Gr. will be able to put into execution with fewer inconveniences then if the King should presently declare. There is upon my heart a fixed perswasion of the necessity of your Grace's being here before any further procedure as to our Church settlement, and that upon many accounts; which was my chief consideration in moving the King and my L. Chancellor for issuing such a proclamation, which will be sent immediately down after my L. Chancellor has seen the draught of it. I spoke of two other particulars effectually conducing to our own settlement, which the King will take care of; but I cannot in this way acquaint your Gr. with them till I wait upon you. My Lords here have given by this poast an account of there proceedings this week, especially of this day, with the King as to the passing of this proclamation,—the adjournment of the parliament till March next,—the calling your Grace hither to wait upon his Ma.—the ordering of the Militia,—the appointing a commission for presentation to Kirks,—the writing to your Gr. for passing an act for all ministers presented to take the oath of allegiance,—the continuing the act of indemnity till the next session of parliament; for all which the King has given positive order to his secretary. This Parliament is fully adapted to the King's purposes, both as to Church and State. They make a bustling about the removing of the garrisons from us; but the King

* On March 21 he writes: "The offence it will give here, with other bad consequences, barr me from having accession to the bringing of it in." On the 19th he wishes "to go abroad and breathe in an air without the reach of the noyse of confusion coming, which I had rather hear of than be witness to."

will have them removed, and hath a present employment for them, without troubling them to march throw England, as I suppose your Gr^e will know by his packet. My Lord Chancellor and the President^a act their parts in pursuance of ther trust nobly & successfully; and from what appeareth to me, I may make this inference, that the great and wise God, by whose providence the government of the world is disposed for his great ends, hath in a special manner ownd your Gr. by putting it into your heart to send up those noble lords at this time, without whose coming I perceive your public proceedings had been intangled; but now I trust all opposing designs are dashed, and a foundation laid for a superstructure which will render your name precious to the succeeding generations. They are fain of nothing, and catch at a shadow, who are high in expectation of a change of governors or government, upon supposition of my Lord Cassils being in favour here, and that he is to continue in places, for nether of which there is any ground; and such reports in Edinburgh are as true as the report I met with the first week I came to London, that the E. of Cassils was most favourably entertained by the King at his first coming to Court, when my L. Chancellor and Rothess could not have access five days after their coming. There are some Scotts emissaries in the citty here, who spread lyes on purpose of proceedings with you; and it seems it is a part of their employment from this to wreat lyes to Edinburgh. The King and his Chancellor are resolved to keep up the reputatⁿ of your parliament, which they say cannot be done if Cassils be admitted to places of trust; a demonstration whereof the King hath givin by a command to draw a patent for my Lord of Athol. I am sure it is not the King's fault if men of bad principles be trusted; and if your Gr. will pardon my Lords for their being prevaild with to admit of the E. of Tweddale for the command of the foot in East Lothian, I think they will give a good account of all the rest. Col. Rutherford is now at Dunkirk, where he is governor by the King's appoint-

^a Glencairn and Rothess.

ment. The Parliament are upon setting the Militia upon the King and his successors; and in their act for the security of his person they order that those who speak or print to the prejudice of the government in state or church shall incur a premunire. I am sorrie if Mr. Douglass after such professions made to your Gr. shall disappoint your expectations. The good Lord prosper your Grace, bliss my Ladye, and your noble family. I am,

Your Gr. most humble faythfull

Chaplain and servant,

JA. SHARP.

London, May 21, 1661.

Addressed to—

His Grace the Earle of Middleton, his
Ma. High Commissioner to the Parliament of
Scotland.

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